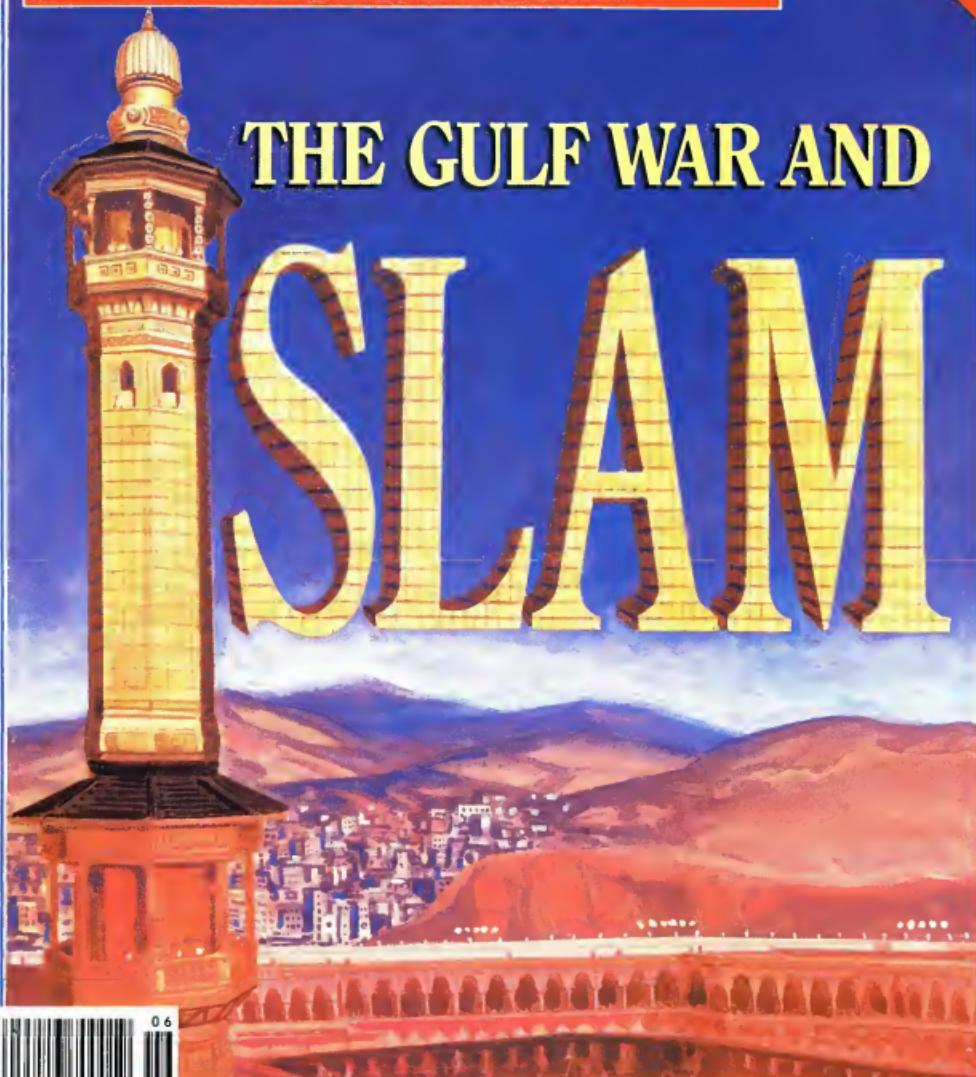


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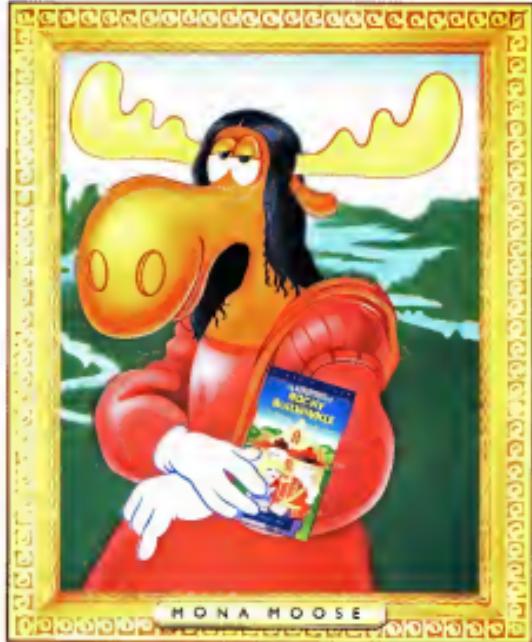
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COVER

ISLAM'S 'HOLY WAR'

In a struggle that is as much mind games as military conflict, Saddam Hussein's lead mullah sees Saudi Arabia two weeks into the Gulf War reinforce his reputation as an astute tactician in the fight for political victories. That control was often couched in religious terms on both sides, at least implicitly placing the world of Islam in opposition to the Christian and Jewish "infidels." —23

CANADA

TOWARDS TWO NATIONS



Premier Robert Bourassa's study group issued an ultimatum to the country: accept a radically decentralized Canada by fall 1992 or Quebec will hold a referendum on the right to declare its sovereignty. Initial reactions in English Canada ranged from anger and disapproval to studied indifference. —12



WORLD

DANGER ZONES

After a month-long military crackdown on rebellious republicans that caused 20 deaths, and a wave of dissatisfaction from the West, the Kremlin ordered the withdrawal of some of its troops. But Baltic nationalists insisted that the Soviet pressure had only strengthened the drive for independence. —16



Maclean's Goes To War

With Canada at war for the fourth time in the 20th century, for the fourth time Maclean's has had its own reporter at the front. Washington Correspondent Eddy Mackenzie was the first Canadian journalist to enter Saudi Arabia after the crisis erupted. And last week, as London Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips watched American Patriot missiles destroy Iraq Scuds over Dhahran, Senior Writer John Bernier completed his tour of duty with Canadian fighter pilot Col. Peter and crewed on to Ankara. But perhaps even more vital to Maclean's war effort are the three editors at the magazine's Toronto headquarters who have the closest contact with it, often round-the-clock, as they chronograph the activities of staff members and those of dozens of our regular correspondents in the battle zone.

World Editor Bob Leman grew up in the United States during the Vietnam War and, drawing on that experience, reported and wrote this week's article on the conflict in Asia. "I am struck by the way Americans seem to be trying to brush off the details of Vietnam through the Gulf War," says Leman. "It's a kind of denial mechanism. But the war in Kuwait can mean very different things depending on your political stance."

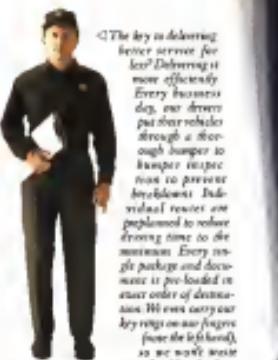
For her part, Associate Editor Mary French monitored the frenzied links of honesty in the media's war coverage. "A lot of it ends up sounding like aaccused," she said, "with each side talking up its side." And Associate Editor Andrew Behn commented: "The Gulf conflict has brought out both the best and worst of the media. Objectivity, not truth, seems to be the first casualty of war."

This week, Mackenzie will be making another attempt to return to Iraq, where he last reported from the capital before the war began. And bureaus across Canada and abroad will provide no less vital readings of the impact of the war around a troubled world.

Left: Behn and French, a news editor and reporter on the battle zone



Photo: Edward Sorel



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LETTERS

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

What we should have learned from history is that of the Korean, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and many other despots had been stopped in their tracks, they would have been no First and Second World Wars, no Vietnam, no Korea and no massive slaughter of Soviets by their own leaders ("The end of history," Cover, Feb. 4). I believe that for the first time in history, we have a chance to stop some of these epochs, but only because Canada and many other countries have stood up to be counted and then stood behind their words.

R.K. English,
P.M. Meadows, B.C.



Canadian troops "stood up to be counted."

Through the past weeks, one thought keeps running through my mind: We really are at war. What are the reasons? Arms manufacturers of the coalition have supplied both sides of campaigns since named profits. Surely, money could not be the reason? I see a TV image of the faces of American fast-food workers posing for battle banners inciting them that it does not matter if they die laying down their young lives for?

Peter Malone,
Victoria

If Britain and France had tried to forcibly evict Hitler from Austria, or later from Czechoslovakia, there were those who would have countered them for "warmongering," "imperialist" and "interventionism" in other countries' affairs, for not giving democracy a chance. Those who protect the UN action today are the ideological descendants of those who behaved so cowardly in the nations of appeasement at the 1930s.

Donald Gruenwald,
Guelph, Ont.

PASSAGES

1940: Professional football's first superstar, Red (Huey-Mo) Grange, 27, of Jacksonville, Fla., becomes NFL commissioner. Paul Tagliabue credits Grange, who died one day after the Super Bowl, with being the "first great football administrator and pioneer." As a University of Illinois running back, Grange won three consecutive between 1925 and 1928, scoring 35 touchdowns. In 1925, when professional football was only five years old, he joined the Chicago Bears and became widely known as the "Galloping Ghost." At a time when professional football players made only \$200 to \$300 a game, Grange made \$100,000 a year. He passed from football at 79.



1940: When the next federal election is announced, Liberal energy critic and veteran MP Robert Kaplan, 84, The former socialist general under Pierre Trudeau said that he has "always intended to return to private life in time to build a career." Kaplan was first elected in 1968, in Toronto's Don Valley riding. He lost the seat in 1972, but has been Toronto's York Centre MP since 1974.

1940: The widely respected Ottawa businessman and co-founder of the transactor, John Barlow, 82, in cancer, in Ottawa hospital. Solomon joined the financial newspaper as a reporter in 1965, when the Post was a weekly. He opened the paper's first Washington bureau and was posted to Ottawa in 1968. He received his first Nobel Prize in physics for his accomplishment in 1956, and his second in 1972 for his work on superconductivity.

LITHUANIA MEASURES UP

Thank you for your comprehensive, well-written article on the events in the Balkans specifically the bloody Sarajevo assault on Lithuania ("A Kosovar's War," World, Jan. 26). However, you refer to Lithuania as a "tiny" Baltic republic. You never refer to Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands or Belgium as tiny, yet these respective landmasses are smaller than Lithuania.

Sethen Pritorius,
London, Ont.

A WORRYING PRESENCE

I was probably pure coincidence, but the photo of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney accompanying the article on more disastrous symbolism probably portrayed a worry unanswered in the article ("Facing the music," Canada, Jan. 14). Is it my imagination, or is there a bout of the late president John Kennedy passing big-breathely over our Prime Minister's left shoulder?

Donald Shadé,
Amherst, Ont.

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BACK TO SCHOOL

Alan Fotheringham feels honor in calling Canada's naval commitment to the Gulf a "real tragic blip." ("The danger of too much talk," Globe and Mail, Dec. 31). To me, such a comment is demeaning to the Canadian men

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ATT

OPENING NOTES

Canada designs a new war medal, Hudson's Bay halts fur sales, and Saddam Hussein's bodyguard talks

REVENGE FANTASY

The man who claims to have been one of Saddam Hussein's bodyguards now says that he will kill his former boss. Karim al-Jabbari told Maclean's from Paris that the Iraqi leader is "going crazy" and "must go." Al-Jabbari, 32, who left Iraq last September because he feared for his own life, also says that he has evidence of Hussein's sadism. Said the would-be assassin: "I have seen him have people with acid drop by drop, until it eats to the bone." But al-Jabbari has not found a model for himself. He says that he frequently carried out the Iraqi leader's orders to murder political opponents. Now, al-Jabbari has become a машинист. He appeared recently on ABC television and told his story to the London tabloid Daily Mail and to the upper U.S. Fox TV network's *A Current Affair*. Among his outrageous claims does Hussein's letter was in fact, Jabbari. Al-Jabbari says that he will seek across the Iraqi border in the next two weeks to assassinate Hussein. "I will see that the job is done," he added confidently.

Al-Jabbari still living by the vengeful sword



PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Down-and-out in Nova Scotia

What's-happening has a price. At least. Norton's trial. Sad Zorek. "If I had a couple of hundred bucks, I would be there in a flash." Nothing to do is free.



Zorek: unapologetic the former Nova Scotia premier

THE SOUND AND THE FURRY

Although founded on the fur trade in 1870, the Hudson's Bay Co. announced last week that the department store chain would no longer sell furs. A company spokesman said that although mink fur农夫 have long targeted the Bay, the historic decision was "strictly business." Animal rights leaders applauded the news. And clearly, no one was happier than billionaire grouse magnate Kenneth Thomson, who has controlled the Bay since 1979. In a 1989 interview, Thomson declared: "I am a conservationist, an animal lover." Better late than never.

Making money from disaster

Some economists claim that war boosts the economy. Indeed, the Gulf War will likely be profitable for one Canadian company. Vancouver-based Bennett Environmental Consultants Ltd. President John Bennett, who has been in the oil-spill cleanup business since 1986, says that his company is now filling orders from Aramco, the Saudi Arabian oil company, for plastic booms and skimmers. He is also sending some of his experienced staff to the Gulf to help clean up the massive, well-caused spill. As a result, Bennett says that his company stands to make as much as \$4 million. The economic spillover of war.

SELLING LIKE HOTCAKES

As a result of the Gulf crisis, interest in war-related maps and books is soaring. And bookstores across the country say that they are unable to keep up with the demand as new titles keep being published. Said Robert Cole, a co-owner of the Granville Book Co. in Vancouver: "People want to buy things about the Gulf. They've lost interest." W.H. Smith is also selling a lot of military books, added Roger Nelson, owner of Nelson's Books in Mississauga, Ont.: "There has been an enormous demand for



Military: a renewed interest

Hussein popular



Hussein has been the handily produced paperback *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf*, by journalist Judith Miller and academic Laurie Mylroie. Other popular titles include *Republie of Fear: The Inside Story of Saddam's Despotic Rule* and *Kuwait: Not Every Hooker Is Happy About the Heightened Interest*. Paul Fleck Adams, manager of the Coles bookstore in Toronto's Eaton Centre: "We should have been interested in the Middle East a long time ago. It's sad that the Gulf War was necessary for us to become so concerned."

Missing medal

The outbreak of the Gulf War caught Canada without an official combat honor to bestow on any of its heroes. When



Headland: top priority

A war over words

An editor interviewed that can recently in a Midleton, N.Y., weekly newspaper has identified a local hero. Headland "has the death squads," the editor of the *Midtown Examiner* stated. "If you like Nintendo games, you'll love the Persian Gulf. God will reward you to the gates of hell. Call your Canadian Forces Recruitment Office today. Master Pilot Pilgrim?" The aforementioned geek had a load of angry riffs and letters. Indeed, typewriter Karen M. Gould responded in protest. Said McDonald: "My brother is in the armed forces, and after he's a captain and everything—I wasn't going to go for that." Last week, the paper ran an apology article that accounted for all this. Philip Murray, a businessman who placed the ad, said that he wanted to draw attention to the legacy of war. But, he added, "In retrospect, it gives us a certain mailing."

Fleming: minister, mpc, pallbearer

Canada discontinued the British Victoria Cross in 1972, the nation was left without a specific medal for combat. Now, Bruce Beatty, an official federal government artist, is designing the first Canadian combat decoration. Said Beatty, who designed the *Grade of Canada* award: "It became top priority as soon as the shooting started." A small reward for a big sacrifice.

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COLUMN



Cold feet could lose the Gulf War

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The Gulf conflict is threatening to become a Vietnam nightmare. The Pentagon generals do not appear to have been as smart, or even successful, as many thought at the early days of the conflict. Despite protestations by President George Bush and others that this won't be Vietnam revisited, it certainly is beginning to look that way. The problem is in Southeast Asia, the generals say, was that it dragged on for years because the full force of the American fighting machine was never unleashed against the enemy. Unfortunately, the same applies this time as the United States publics punches. True, bombing attacks have been vicious, but the others have so far been reluctant to hurl an all-out ground attack against the enemy because they fear a large number of civilian casualties. The United States says that any bombing civilian targets is a waste strategy which allows the enemy to hide military targets among civilians. Once again, the full force of the U.S. fighting machine is being held back against a ruthless enemy, and such reluctance is Saddam Hussein's most powerful weapon.

True war is the patriotic option. A tiny liberated Kuwait could never repel future attacks, which means that, barring the total destruction of Iraq, the allies may have to give up the peace for peace and be subjected to guerrilla and terrorist acts by Iraqis. To me, it looks like Sagan and Northern Ireland combined. The root of the problem is that Hussein is a ruthless but we, on his side, are not.

U.S. generalssay that Hussein's a target of bombing attacks even though some observers feel his death may result in surrender and it would be a U.S. general's concern that any plausible headings are being released, and then, a day or two later, Hussein's groups of units the Persian Gulf, causing one of the biggest environmental disasters in history and threatening water supplies and amphibious landings. U.S. generals announce that Iraq presents them from launching bombing attacks, on whom the war clearly Hussein sets Kuwait's officials

The full U.S. fighting force is being held back against a ruthless enemy, and such reluctance is Hussein's most powerful weapon

as fine as that smoke screen out surveillance Human rights at nothing.

"The Americans have done everything wrong from Day 1," says former head army Lt.-Col. Tom Williams, who served as an advisor to the coalition forces in Little Rockwood, Kuwait. "This is like pushing Hitler out of Europe without lighting him on the ground. Normally was the beginning of the end, but the Americans are creating an occasion day after day because of casualties. The only time we made sense worked was Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

As author and lecturer, Hemanshu moves

to the cause as an adviser after his teaching job at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg was phased out. He is a Middle East expert with several books to his credit who has served as the congressional officer in the Israeli security agency since an Iranian Lebanon from 1978 to 1988. "The danger," he warns, "is in the longer the delay in liberating Kuwait, the more likely Iraq will enter the conflict. Iraq fears long and wants it out of Kuwait but ideologically it cannot allow itself to destroy a Muslim nation. Some 100 of his [Hemanshu's] peers are now safe in Kuwait, but the reason he can fight back and he has an ally."

Iran's ambassador and last week that his country remains neutral in the war, but according to Hemanshu, "These are indications that [Iraqi] grandmothers are there. The Iraqi and Iranian know the Americans cannot bomb Iraq without helping the war, and that would be a disaster." Even if the allies win the war, Iraq may end up with large portions of Hussein's oil fields. This means that large financial fire would be dealt with again.

Christian Balmer, a Middle East expert and corporate consultant in Washington, warns that even with victory, the coalition will face a troubled peace. "Thinking before the U.S. Senate armed services committee, Balmer argued against the war and in favor of continued economic sanctions. Because, he explained later, the war will fail to solve the essential problems in the region—Persianian resistance and the redistribution of wealth. In the Middle East, she says, there are about 250 million 'have-not' Moslems and 10 million 'haves.'

Adds Helms: "Before the war, there was growing recognition that Arab nations had to find communities and make hegemony. This war creates division and fragmentation among Arabs. It also causes anger and resentment and probably the inability to recognize the fact that neighboring states have problems. If the Arab perception is that U.S. policy is pursuing destabilization and out to destroy Iraqi military capability, then they will be more conflicts."

Another problem for the region is that the Saudis and Kuwaitis have each pledged \$15 billion to pay off their war costs. On top of that they must rebuild their economies, which mean of profits must last for years to Western firms helping rebuild and return them. This represents a risk: a massive redistribution of oil wealth from the Middle East to the West again leaving little left to give the region's native voice-outs.

At the very least, another winner is Israel, says author and sociologist Yigal Weisz of Ottawa, who served last year's election campaign. "By its own admission, Israel has done well," he says. "It makes difficult to solve the Palestinian problem. Soys Ostrachoff: "When the war is over, Israel need deal with the Palestinians problem. But Israel will say Look at the Palestinians. They were assisted this terrible man Saddam Hussein. How could you force us to have a Palestinian state with terrorists on our border with Saudi causing over from next door?"

If Ostrachoff, Helms and Hemanshu are correct, the Gulf War will become another Vietnam or Korea. And while most of the world doesn't agree with the Persian Gulf, its leaders must be drawn in order for the allies to face the painful conflict against a threat. Let's hope Bush and the generals realize that wars are won only by those who unleash the full force of their fighting machine. Let's hope that they realize that after the war tough measures must still follow in the region to solve problems. Anything less than ruthless enemies spells defeat.

TOWARDS TWO NATIONS

QUEBEC'S VISION OF CANADA STARTS THE COUNTDOWN TO A FATEFUL INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM

The announcement last February surprised everyone in all the best ways—effective voting cards for half-trained volunteers in Quebec. Amid the continuing nationwide debate at that time over privatization of the Meech Lake accord, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed a group of prominent Quebec Liberals to study future constitutional options for the province. Even if the accord failed, many analysts expected that the Liberal committee, headed by lawyer Jean Allaire and including many longtime federalists, would recommend relatively moderate alternative accommodations in Quebec within the Canadian federation. But on the day before the accord's collapse last June, a frustrated Bourassa warned: "English Canada must understand very clearly that Quebec is a distinct society capable of assuming its own destiny and development." Last week, with a stirring sweep and shrug, the members of Allaire's committee gave dramatic impact to Bourassa's assertion.

The commission's report, titled *A Quebec Free to Choose*, proposed new norms, conditions and a timetable for constitutional negotiations that would fundamentally underlie the Canadian nation. If implemented, they would profoundly reduce the influence and scope of the central government and vastly increase the powers and autonomy of the provinces. If the rest of the country rejected the proposals, Quebec would have a referendum to give it the right to declare independence. Tabled in a ceremony in Quebec City on Jan. 29, the Allaire report said that other Canadians should consider its recommendations for a dramatically decentralized system of government over the next 18 months. But if no agreement is reached in that time, Allaire declared, "We will take our responsibility and become sovereign."

The report's release provoked a fire storm

of debate in Quebec that maligned the God War and the recession from the headlines. At the same time, the rest of a reaction across the rest of the country—most of which had been won over by the Allaire report—was one of quiet disappointment, if not mild indifference. For the most part, political leaders and other Canadians said that the proposal as it was presented has virtually no chance of being accepted. Declared Quebec University constitutional expert Thomas Courchene: "Quebec is taking the rest of the country to change for its sake—and that is where it goes too." Other experts said that even if the Bourassa government simply insisted the Allaire proposals to be an opening position, it was so extreme that it will alienate the rest of the country. Declared historian David Bercuson, then of graduate studies at the University of Calgary: "You can call this paper a lot of things, but not a serious constitutional proposal." He added: "It can only impress us that we're to make the present proposals of a lot of Quebec."

Bourassa said last week that he still wants Quebec to remain in Canada, despite the apparent majority support in the province for independence. But he added: "We need a new Canada. The old one is longer works." And clearly, the Canada envisioned by the Allaire report, which was completed under Bourassa's personal supervision, would be very different from the existing one. It would give Quebec exclusive jurisdiction over 22 issues, including environment, education and language. It proposes sharing power with Ottawa in some areas among their foreign policy, taxation and finance. That would leave the federal government with responsibility over just five areas: defense, regulation, control of monetary policy, customs and debt management. The report



Multimodal potential for a country split: meeting Bourassa

also calls for outright abolition of the Senate. Explicating his position, Bourassa said that he expected economic considerations to force the country to accommodate Quebec within a special constitutional arrangement. But if that failed, Quebec would assert its sovereignty, he added. He expected that Quebec and the rest of Canada would participate in an economic union similar to the European Community.

Outside the province, however, few Canadians are inclined to share that conviction, or even Bourassa's sense of urgency. Despite Allaire's tight timetable, some political leaders were clearly distracted by other concerns. Declared Ray Nonneman, leader of Saskatchewan's New Democratic Party: "There is a preoccupation with the God crisis and with the economy here, so I do not know if the Quebec proposals have much of an impact." In Manitoba, Premier Gary Filmon said that the Allaire proposal "represents a radically different vision of this

who prepared several draft papers for the Allaire group, said that the recommendation to abolish the Senate came about "happily because nobody could be bothered to think about ways of reforming it." Added the party leader: "Senate reform is clearly something we are willing to talk about—if somebody would only make some nonnegotiables."

In Ottawa, the federal government was preparing to begin negotiations that would go at least part of the way toward achieving the goals that the Quebec commissioners called for.

Advocates for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney acknowledged that the Conservative government had already agreed to parts of some civil rights bills

to satisfy groups of settlers in significant areas of jurisdiction now controlled by the Indians in the provinces.

Within Quebec, the depth of concern over the constitutional issue was evident in the days following the report's release, even among traditionally federalist Liberals. The report still has to be debated and could be amended or, technically, rejected—by the provincial Liberals at a Montreal convention in March. Many provincial Liberals appeared eager last week to reassess the cost of Canada that they want to negotiate a new federal structure in good faith. At the same time, they say, the deadline for Canadians to resolve the issue—or face a Quebec referendum on independence—was necessary to avert the growing nationalist mood in that province. Declared John Parenteau, Bourassa's chief of staff: "This is not an ultimatum, but there is a deadline because we want to stop the uncertainty." Added Parenteau: "There will never be a perfect time to negotiate, as let on get the thing going now." But other Quebec Liberals, rejecting that constituency approach, expressed disappointment that the committee did not call for an immediate date to determine a sovereignty vote. So did Hermann Matthes, a former Liberal member of the National Assembly: "Why generate uncertainty again in view of Ontario? Why not hold a referendum right now?"

The sharply contrasting reactions to the Allaire commissioners' report underscored the wide differences between perceptions inside and outside of Quebec that continue to stall constitutional reconciliation. Said William Langtry, the Anglophone representative on the 13-member Allaire committee: "There are a lot of problems we have to face—in particular, the gulf of understanding between the two major cultural groups in this country."

This gulf is measured in part by the resources that make Canadians outside Quebec now disposed toward the province's demands. In the past year, polls have repeatedly demonstrated that a strong majority of Canadians in

National Notes

SACK ON THE WARDS

Most of Manitoba's 10,500 nurses returned to work after 61 per cent of them voted to force a strike of coding the longest nursing strike in Canadian history. On Jan. 2, 1,350 of a now-increased total of 1,500 average salaries rose by between 10 and 12 per cent over two years. But up to 300 nurses at several rural hospitals vowed to stay on the picket line until a better salary was reached.

PRE-ELECTION APRIL

British Columbia's Premier William Vander Zalm said that his government will freeze provincial taxes and the wages of provincial and senior public servants in part of a program to fight the effects of the recession. In a televised address to the province, he also said that there will be a referendum on state lotteries, taxation and constitutional status at the time of the next provincial election, which he must call before October.

SHADOW CABINET SHAKENUP

Federal Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien shuffled his opposition front bench, naming Maxime Bernier and Sheila Copps, 38, who ran third in Jean's leadership race, as his deputy leader. Robert Goss, 59, formerly treasury leader, became finance critic. Measurable Education critic Stéphane Dion, 48, who was ejected by the federal Conservative caucus last year over his opposition to the city, announced that he will sit in the Commons as a Liberal.

OKLA AFTERMATH

Justice Minister Ron Campbell was the first witness before a parliamentary inquiry into last year's 78-day armed standoff between Indians and police in Oka, Que. As described Mulroney, Winnipeg as "an ulcerous sore" and said that they do not represent the majority of Indians in Canada. Mulroney representatives later told the committee that the police and military used unnecessary and brutal tactics during the standoff, and complained that Ottawa had ignored their demands since the crisis ended.

THE PRIME OF PIASTRO

Documents filed in the Senate indicated that the costs of new Senate appointments in 1989 will cost taxpayers an extra \$4.5 million in the next fiscal year in salaries and administrative expenses. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney filed 16 vacant Senate seats in 1989 and appointed an additional eight senators in a successful bid to pacify the upper chamber's approval of the cut.

other persons have no option for further discussion of constitutional reform and are increasingly prepared to seek letting Quebec leave Confederation. In more than two dozen random interviews that Marion's conducted across the country last week, Canadians overwhelmingly showed their impatience with the constitutional impasse. Sen. Sam Cunig, manager of an investment firm in Calgary, "As far as I am concerned, Quebec can go. West Coast Council has a raw deal, too, and we are not looking to get out of Confederation." In Topeka, Md., David Beck, a piano tuner and sales representative, declared, "If they want to get out, let them do it. It's like a spoiled child." Senator Paul Martin, a Quebecer who is a member of the Senate Association of Public "I am not a big fan of Quebec," says. "I am a Quebecer, but I am apathetic about what happens in the rest of Canada."

Policemen of all parties across the country acknowledge that they cannot ignore those statements. In Ontario, advisers to New Democrat Premier G. E. Smith say that he is deliberately taking an approach towards Quebec. That was clearly what the social science professor, Liberal David Price, intended with his statement. One change in tone emerged last week when it was learned that Ontario would not negotiate a new constitutional act with Quebec alone; as Bourassa said, that the province intends to go ahead in its own right.

In Ottawa, Mulroney and his government on the Atlantic region and Quebec have voted on it at their convention. But, whereas with Tom Flanagan and the West revealed the major split in the party, Seaton and Penrice Vasseur, of the Ligue, "That is what Quebecois want or if that is what they want, we can say anything but give it to them." Saskatchewan Tory MP Stanley Webb, different emphasis after touring the east, south of Vancouver said he was complete rejection of the changes, getting concessions that Alberta gets.

"In the West, the proposal to Senate would be a major issue based on the Allens report. The support in the region for a reformed upper chamber," said Alberta Social Affairs Minister James Moran, "not in favor of the current Senate abolition is not the answer."



Elmont Bar (Defects) a non-political reservation country Ontario

to adopt as early as possible demands. So the reaction is likely to be one that will aggravate the situation.

14

Canada does not have one spokesman because Canada has two legitimate systems. It is almost five centuries." Added the former professor, who now teaches at Toronto's York University: "Having sensitivity for all parts of the country today is not easy. Still, that is the task that Canada's leaders must

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH on Greece with

y negotiations with the rest
the country. Said the adm-

Other Liberals and that the Allard report would distract attention from the feasibility of Quebec's all-party commission on its constitutional future. That commission, headed by businessmen André Bégin and Jean Lapointe, is expected to recommend as a report due on March 26 either full Quebec sovereignty or a transfer of powers to the province that would be at least as dramatic that envisaged by the Allard report.

But the Alliance report may undergo further changes in the weeks ahead. One thing it will be discussed by the Quebec Liberal party's 128 riding associations before delegates vote on its contents in Montreal next month. Some analysts predicted that there would be a cool response to a report from the rank of members who learn the party's big line - and most notably, the魁北克自由党全国代表大会上，该报告将被讨论。一些分析家预测，当代表们在蒙特利尔投票决定其内容时，他们可能会对报告持冷感态度。

In the debate about what would be the most effective way to increase Quebecers' support for the new Canadian state, the魁北克人 would be the ones who would be the most affected by the outcome. The魁北克人 would be the ones who would be the most affected by the outcome. The魁北克人 would be the ones who would be the most affected by the outcome. The魁北克人 would be the ones who would be the most affected by the outcome. The魁北克人 would be the ones who would be the most affected by the outcome.

JOHN SMITH is a teacher with the Ontario Ministry of Education.

Back to Square 1

The Senate rejects new abortion legislation

Seldom in politics are the choices so contentious or the divisions so complete. When the Senate voted last week on whether to put abortion back into the Criminal Code, the outcome clearly reflected the fractured state of Canadian public opinion on the issue. Many senators wanted no law at all. Others wanted more restrictive legislation, or

Others wanted even tougher restrictions on abortion than were contained in the Conservative government's proposed Bill C-43. Their disagreement left Canadians with no national policy on abortion and uncertainty over whether the procedure would be widely available.

Faced with a bill attempting to strike a delicate compromise between the opposing goals, the Senate huddled. Freed from party discipline, an unlikely alliance of senators opposed to the bill for contradictory reasons narrowly defeated it at a 43-40-43 tie vote—a clear majority of Senate votes is required for a bill's passage. With that, and Justice Minister Ken Campbell, the federal government was given up as a struggle to find a political middle ground at the issue of gay marital life and death.

But even with Ottawa on the side, few observers expected the ongoing debate over abortion to subside. Activists on the so-called pro-choice side, which favors leaving the decision on abortion to the pregnant woman, expressed delight that the Senate had defeated a bill that would have required a doctor's consent for the procedure. But they also acknowledged that in the absence of federal legislation, some provinces may attempt to limit abortion on their own. At the same time, opponents of abortion in the so-called pro-life movement did not feel victory in setting the bill aside was something to be overly smug about. "It's a battle," says Karen Mawson, an Ottawa-based lobbyist for the Campaign Life Coalition, for one. "We are happy the bill was defeated, but it is just a small step. We need a better pro-life law to protect the unborn."

But it is extremely unlikely that the Tories will produce any law. For one thing, Campbell himself expended tremendous political capital in support of the bill that the Senate rejected; it's defeat marked the end of a three-year attempt by Ottawa to reconstitute federal control over abortion. The Tories had struggled to draft legislation over twice the Supreme Court declared the previous federal abortion law unconstitutional in January, 1988, in the grounds that the threat of corporal punishment

could force women to carry a fetus to term — a violation of their constitutional rights. Last May, the House of Commons passed Bill C-43, which would again have made abortion illegal except when a single doctor stated that a woman's physical, mental or psychological health was threatened by her pregnancy.

The most convincing show to the non-smoking doctors. The law provides for penalties of up to two years in jail for any physician

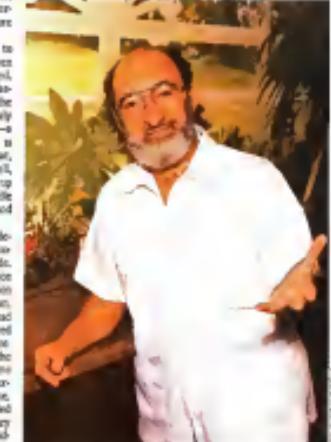
contributed heavily to the bill's defeat.

And doctors were among those who most reluctantly accepted it. Gynecologist Thomas Kerr was one of four doctors from St. Michael's, who stopped performing abortions last year. But with his last guarantee that the procedure would remain outside the Cranford Clinic, Orr said that he and his colleagues will resume the practice. Since Orr "think[s] that [abortion] is a medical procedure, not a political or religious issue," he will continue performing abortions at St. Michael's.

And so Edwina, Dr. Henry Rosenberg, the Toronto-based physician campaigner who was the defendant in the case that led to the 1985 Supreme Court decision, called the Senate vote "miserable." Rosenberg said that he had lobbied senators unsuccessfully to defeat the "permissive" bill, adding that now "more doctors will be willing to work as abortion clinic without the threat of prosecution."

But the bill's defeat clearly does not ensure equal access to abortion across the country. Some politicians, including Campbell, predicted that without a federal law in place, individual provinces might act themselves to fill the legal void. Ontario, for one, has already indicated that it plans its own laws intended to expand access to abortion. And last week, Ontario Health Minister Elyse Gagnon said that the province would now make decisions to preferential abortion. By contrast, noted Louise Chik, an associate professor of law at Dalhousie Law School in Halifax, "in some provinces, such as Prince Edward Island, there is no positive right to safe abortion." Said Gillian Lissack, president of the Law Reform Commission of Canada, which argued strongly in favor of the bill: "We will see severe variances from province to province. This will leave Canadians without uniform standards."

In Ottawa, the defeat of the bill had political repercussions as well. Although senators were free to vote according to their consciences, many senior Tory leaders expressed interest towards the same Conservatives who voted against the bill. Other Tories, such as Campbell and her staff, being cognizant about the political threat to the bill, indeed, some suggested that Campbell, whether she was personally pro-choice, had "secretly" wanted the bill to be defeated. But the senator vigorously denied these criticisms. Aspira also thinks they are doing me a favor by voting against this bill as wrong," she told reporters two days before the vote, adding "We need that law." In the final hours, Campbell and her staff were in my sense the encouraged. But her last-minute effort was already succeeded as the bill bounded on the very rays of opinion it was designed to budge.



Allergen-toler: removing the stress of prevention

SOUTH AFRICA

'The end of an era'

De Klerk vows to repeal apartheid laws

And shouts of "Insgama van die Afrikaer" (and traitor to the nation) encouraged members of South Africa's opposition Congress Party to shout and jeer at De Klerk in Cape Town yesterday. The subject of their song was retirement President F.W. (Frederik) de Klerk, who had just pledged to strike down the country's last remaining apartheid laws ("within months"). After orders were withdrawn, de Klerk responded, saying that he wants his National Party-dominated parliament to repeal long-standing discriminatory legislation that classifies citizens according to race, segregates neighborhoods and reserves most benefits for whites. But even as the historic announcement inspired exultation within the white minority community, it clearly did not go far enough for many blacks. Outside the parliament, and in cities and townships across the country, hundreds of thousands of black protesters marched to demand further change. "We still do not have the vote," declared veteran African National Congress (ANC) leader Walter Sisulu at a Cape Town rally. "And this is what our people demand today, to you for a constituent assembly."

Still, de Klerk's address delivered just one day short of the first anniversary of his announcements legalizing black opposition groups and the release from prison of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was something to celebrate. By June, blacks will have all the legal rights—except for the vote—but whites can easily claim, as an apologetic de Klerk said, "we'll bring us to the end of no road." He also proposed transitional arrangements for joint leaders of disadvantaged parties to direct race in policy-making. While rejecting any demands for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly to draft a constitutional convention, de Klerk said that the time had come for a multiparty conference to plot a course to democracy.

These promises drew encouraging responses from Western leaders, who said that they would now consider lifting economic sanctions against South Africa. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said that such a move might come after a meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in London scheduled for later this year. Mulroney also said that he was "very pleased" with de Klerk's "visionary leadership," and that he had telephoned the South African lead-

a remnant of Nationalist ideology. While accepting anti-apartheid calls for a single education system, de Klerk said that there must also be provision for what he termed "distinctive or indigenous" education—in other words, right-wing whites would still be able to have racially exclusive schools.

De Klerk's far-reaching announcement clearly elicited another round of anger earlier in the week. On Jan. 29, Durban residents and their black leader, Basie Chabalala of the Butchelaers, exchanged handshakes and hugs at their first face-to-face meeting in 28 years. In what Mandela called "a breakthrough," they emerged from their neighbourly party to arrange a peace pact in Natal province, where township violence between ANC supporters and members of Butchelaers' Inkatha party had claimed more than 4,000 lives over the past five years—and effectively blocked efforts to



Mandela (right) and Butchelaers: a peace pact, and all the legal rights except for the vote

parliament. He warned the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups that "massive anti-apartheid campaigns involving strikes, subversion and sabotage to the economy could seriously delay or undermine political progress." That would be a "grave error," de Klerk said, warning that continued opposition would result in undefined "disastrous" reverses."

Although the speech marked a radical departure from the National Party's open-the-past past, analysts noted that de Klerk's words included echoes of white resistance political change. The president's hard line has been seen, acting, set against the hard-line of the ANC's liberation of 1986. As "the year of mass action," was cast such role. Another was his reference to group or community rights. Critics have often denounced that concept as afterthought in diagnosis, and they have rejected it as anathema to a discussion point in the ongoing constitutional debate. And on the subject of education, there was also

long a stated black approach to constitutional negotiations. Despite the symbolic reconciliation, however, factional violence erupted less than 24 hours later, resulting in at least eight deaths.

Still, many observers said that they were encouraged by the week's stunning developments in Cape Town, where large crowds of black and white passers-by gathered in front of television in store windows to hear de Klerk deliver his speech. The mood was optimistic. "It's about time we did that," said 27-year-old ANC supporter George Mabuza. "He's great, it's great, but I really think it's about to roll out two years in a row." He was referring to de Klerk's 1990 legalization of banned political groups and the release of Mandela, and he added "I'm even beginning to like this guy."

ANDREW NEILSON with CHRISTOPHER
in Cape Town

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**SADDAM HUSSEIN'S
BRAVADO PLACES
ISLAM AGAINST
GEORGE BUSH'S
'JUST CAUSE'**

in the struggle for political victories. That contrast was often couched in religious terms, at least implicitly placing the world of Islam in opposition to the Christian and Jewish

Iran's incursions into Saudi Arabia took place in the war's impact on everything from ethnic to economic bases to English lives and lifestyles around the world. The struggle's widening political dimensions also threatened to broaden the conflict as a result. Israeli flight-AGAF forces in Lebanon—holding long responsibilities—and Jordan agents interfering with any Israeli military overflights (which, officially stated, had concerned over a long-term American presence at the region)—called for a ceasefire, insisting that the remaining coalition forces should leave the region.

and how should authorities from Komarad

Last week's raid lasted although "hellfire" was an Acadian officer described the raid for Noddy, were short-lived. The main force pulled back from the city after a 36-hour battle about 25 km to Seabird Territory, where officers declared the offensive an "initial disaster" for Inuit, without any casualties. In fact, the military says, no one was killed or injured. However, Inuit leaders, who had been told by their leader that he was about to be arrested, acknowledged Lt.-Gen. Thomas Kelly, head of joint operations for the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff as "alright." "We have not seen any of the Inuit in a fighting force. We respect it."

After the battle of Khalkh, Americans and allied planes intensified their aerial bombard-

² Quelcosa forse; anti-Americanismus dominante im Amerikas-Subjekt- und Freiheitstheater.



Almost two weeks into the Gulf War, the relentless power of the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq appeared to have derailed President Saddam Hussein's war aims and poised down his heavy-weight army behind desert fortifications in occupied Kuwait. Long enough, nearly in sight as coalition warplanes attacked at a rate of more than 2,000 missiles a day, had begun a punishing crusade by neighboring Iraq's missile assault into Israel and Saudi Arabia, almost eighty miles east in the war, unashamed in frequency and effectiveness. Hussein himself, who had been shown on Baghdad television in war apparently to be a leader, seemed disengaged. Then, last week in a startling offensive on the war's 14th day, Saddam unleashed columns of his troops threat into Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to link those lands that disclosed Hussein's ambitions and ended his reign at the Islamic world.

Bremer Western analysts awaited eight days' signature to the Gulf War's first sustained land battle. Saudi troops, supported by U.S. aircraft and air power, claimed to have recaptured the deserted town of Khafji within two days, although small arms fire persisted afterwards. But in a war that is in effect mixed peace as military conflict, Haig's hawks assumed his opposition to assault tactics.

ment of Iraqi forces along the Kuwait border and reports that a large Iraqi advance force was advancing towards the Saudi frontier. U.S. officials later discounted those claims, but said that coalition warplanes attacked mobile ground forces. Among coalition losses was a U.S. AC-130 Hercules transport gunship with 14 air crewmen aboard on an undisclosed mission. Eight-engined B-52s, the language befe-

the capable of delivering 50 heavy bombs in a dozen short "bombs away" strikes across-the-clock raids against Iraqi long range Republican Guards as the Al-Sawad frontier. The aircraft, the aircraft which is more than 35 years old, flew at speeds too great to be heard or seen by people from the ground in Britain, Spain, the Azores and the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia. At week's end, US spokesman claimed that the bombing was crippling Iraq's military capacity. They also claimed to have all destroyed the small Iraqi navy when all boats vented into the Persian Gulf; its waters and cause-and-effect aerial attack from American planes, including two CF-18s—the best that Canadian forces had engaged in battle since the Korean War (page 32).

Assad: Human progress is to be measured by the punishment of the forces that he commands and the destruction that has disrupted Iraq's supply of electricity, water, fuel and telephone communication. During the strike on Khafji, he appeared on television news around the world in a Baghdad interview with Al-Jazeera's Peter Arnett, describing the war as a battle "between facts and falsehood." He portrayed Iraq as the underdog and the ultimate victor over "the Americans with the big arms and the mercenaries" — the dirty money.

or my sonnets, one short who had been seen as a dangerous criminal when his army invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2 became almost a heroic figure fighting for "the Arab nation." Islam is what he was described as a jihad—holy war. Egyptian columnist Salama Ahmed Salama, who writes for Egypt's state-owned Al-Ahram newspaper, said that Husein's strategy "is the strategy of the besieged—you only see what you want to see." But Salama added that the "answers to be confident and certain."

"by comparison, (President) George Bush was troubled and fatigued."

In fact, Bush campaigned actively last week, in invoking religious themes and personalism, in effort to rally support for his "just cause." In a speech to a gathering of Christian broadcasters, he said that the war embodies "good government." There, at an annual national prayer conference, he proclaimed last Sunday a national day of prayer for peace—and called on Americans to pray that "God will continue to bless the United States of America."

canadians displayed their commitment to war with patriotic displays, but there were as at home and abroad of the political and economic strains that it is exerting on many communities. Analysts have estimated the **Cdn\$** cost to the nation at between \$400 million and \$1 billion a day. For Canada alone, additional funding provided for Gulf operations is said to add another \$100 million to the cost of North America's war in the range of \$2 billion a day. The Canadian taxpayer will be asked to contribute from a range of relief funds, the Canadian Red Cross, the Canadian Forces, the Canadian Red Cross, and has exerted pressure on Japan, Germany, which constitutes virtually no participation in foreign wars, to contribute.

Last week, Japan decided to seek parliamentary approval for more than \$300 million in contributions on top of about \$2 billion already committed. Germany has pledged \$31 billion, including \$650 million less to Britain. Concerned about a resulting financial strain on the national treasury, Germany's central bank raised key lending rates. And as US counterpart reduced as well, the interest rates on a massive scale at underlying investments of countries' deepening recession.

Germany's government is also seeking direct contributions from all segments of the **airline**, travel and tourism industry spokesman, including air carriers, travel agents and bookings.com's Heathrow Airport, normally among the world's busiest, had experienced a 24-per cent drop in passenger flights since the war began.

U.S. officials accused Palestinian guerrillas of terrorism at Haifa's behalf when they used rocket attacks on Jewish settlements in Lebanon. Israel, under U.S. pressure to end the war against Iraq, has renounced its right to retaliate. And last week, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir finally granted a visa to State James Baker. Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Yakovlev called early for peace efforts to end Middle East hostilities. The pledge to link a settlement of the Palestinian issue with a resolution of the war. But Baker told Israel that the proposal did not make sense, and Shamir accepted his assurance.

11. BHOOLBHIA WITH CONSIDERABLE PLEA



11. MONITORING AND COMMUNICATING RESULTS

THE DEMONS OF VIETNAM

THE WAR MAY EXACT A HIGH PRICE

Dust settles over the twin black skies of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which stands in a Washington Mallide like an enormous tomb. A flag pole stands tall in the center, the pole itself 80 feet high. The base of the statue's 58,773 sand-colored names etched in stone. Some people have left American flags and yellow ribbons at the base, although the plaque says: "Please note no more memorials—the only visible sign of respect against the nation's current war is the Persian Gulf." One reader, Bob Goldring, a 43-year-old architect from Chevy Chase, Md., says that although he opposed the Vietnam War, he respects his war against Iraq's Saddam Hussein. "He [Saddam] he's strong, it gave my dad a scare," Goldring says. He's planning to go to the war, he adds. "I keep wondering if I'll be another soul for the Gulf War, and how big it will be."

To Americans, Vietnam is not just a place, not just a war. It is a national trauma, a nightmare of death and darkness that only partially faded when the last U.S. helicopters fled from the roof of the American Embassy in Saigon on April 30, 1975. The coalition Vietnamese troops and scores more have not ended it. Nor did Ronald Reagan's stand-all-American rhetoric, nor the minor military triumphs in Grenada and Panama. The legacy, and the pain live on. "No more Vietnam," cheer protesters against the Gulf War. And President George Bush repeatedly, almost reluctantly, declares: "This will not be another Vietnam"—after deploying assault forces to such a conflict and never retreating. Even Iraq's President Saddam Hussein has joined up the specter of Vietnam, appealing to America's sense of the blood of a lost and brutal conflict. With the two sides fighting their first deadly ground battle last week, the question is indeed a haunting one: Will Americans, and their children, still support the war in the country coast seriously clouded.

Administration officials are clearly worried that they will not. Although recent U.S. polls show that between 70 and 80 per cent of respondents support the war, American political and military leaders have been trying to stem the public gash of opinion that followed the Jan. 18 announcement of the initial bombing of Iraq. The war, they say, may take several months and cost many American lives—particularly against a long-winded dictator who was willing to maim 500,000 people in the eight-year, no-win war with Iraq. As the vocal antiwar movement continued its protest, President George Bush warned: "If we get

locked down like Vietnam as long, protracted campaign against Iraq, public support for the President will begin to dissipate." Experts say that Quigley may be right, especially if most European allies, only Britain and France have fielded ground troops, despite strong support for the war in both countries—and strong popularity for their leaders—they could be vulnerable to the negative impact of a



In San Diego, 3,600 people forming a giant flag artwork to support the war

blowout, because "we'll be out of office soon." For other members of the 21 nation allied coalition, the war effort has won general public support—but also carries enormous risks. In Canada, an Angus Reid/Sonoma poll taken immediately after the war started showed that three-quarters of respondents backed the Canadian military presence in the Gulf. But less than half supported Ottawa's decision to allow the country's 510 C-16 light aircraft to escort allied bombers attacking Iraq. And although the nation's 1,850 air and naval personnel in the Gulf are overshadowed by the massive, 580,000-strong American force—

and the Canadians have no ground troops—the possibility of casualties among Canadian airmen clearly worries federal officials. Among the European allies, only Britain and France have fielded ground troops, despite strong support for the war in both countries—and strong popularity for their leaders—they could be vulnerable to the negative impact of a

blast to prosecute the war more vigorously.

"What alienated the American public in both the Korean and Vietnam wars was not news coverage, but casualties," Roosevelt wrote.

Silence: That is at least part of the reason that coalition forces have been learning recently to adapt to the Iraq defense before bringing a ground war on. But despite Haussman's not-glamorous record on the media, the U.S. administration has also been waging a concerted public relations war—a war to use the Vietnam-era phrase, for the hearts and minds of the American people. The Pentagon has severely limited media access to the fighting, allowing only small, tightly controlled selected pools of reporters to visit selected areas of the front.

As a result, most war news comes from military briefings in Riyadh, the Saudi Arabian capital, and at Washington. At those, U.S. officials emphasize the high-tech war-fight and so-called precision bombing of American strikes, often accompanied by impressive film footage.

The officers provide an estimate of civilian casualties, which they call "collateral damage." The Pentagon, however, has not released any detailed figures. Col. John S. Hensley, a spokesman for an aerial corps in Vietnam and who is the top deputy director of the U.S.-based Washington-based Center for Defense Information, is that "we're fighting a very clean war, with clear kinds—we don't kill people, we just target."

Pentagon officials are also limiting public exposure to American deaths—called MIA, for "missing in action." They have abandoned the tradition of public honor for returning war deads' Delaware's Dever Air Force Base, clearly stating that the repeated TV images of flag-draped coffins would undermine public support.

The cameras began recording the first home-town funerals for Gulf War dead last week. The releases of some of the nine American airmen have, along with their grief, expressed continued backing for the war effort. "He knew what he was there for," said Teresa Sutera of Roslyn, N.Y., mother of 21-year-old Lt. Cmdr. Capt. David Sutera, one of 21 Americans killed in two ground battles in Kuwait, Sutera added. "I don't feel any guilt about that."

Still, many experts say that the general public's tolerance for war casualties may not be high. "The memory of Vietnam has not faded," said Gary Gross, a professor of public policy at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government in Cambridge, Mass. "The U.S. psyche is still troubled." And John Mueller, political science professor at the University of Rochester in Upstate New York, declared: "It's very difficult to sustain the public movement, could only have suffered when, in an interview with CNN's Peter Arnett last week, Haussman thanked the 'mobs' demonstrating in the West."

Haussman has made a concerted effort to influence Western opinion. For nearly two weeks, Arnett was the only major Western journalist allowed to remain in Iraq. The gov-



A San Francisco peace rally that turned into a riot; numbers could multiply

tawa University, argued that the government is "over-concerned about American public opinion—politicians always underestimate how the rest of the world sees us." The Senate, too, has decided to target Saddam as a strategic target. By week's end, Bogard had admitted 16 more foreign journalists to take on a tour of a hospital, when they saw civilians being treated. But before noon, Bush's message was dragging.

Small missiles at 15-mile range, displaying baneful range and accuracy to U.S. officials, captured all the Persian Gulf—while only reinforced Bush's characterization of him as a latter-day Adolf Hitler.

And Harvard's Gross said that precisely because Bush "wasn't militarily even the Second World War is the extreme to the rule that high intensity warfare creates low support."

Rationale: In Canada, the reaction to the war has been generally supportive, although more muted than the gung-ho Americans. Two years ago, Parliament passed, by 217 to 47, a motion reaffirming Canada's backing for the UN resolution demanding Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait—while not technically declaring war. That cautious approach reflects public ambivalence, especially with Canada's offensive part in the war seen as a way to contrast the country's traditionally peacekeeping role. Canadians, and Michael Ignatieff, professor of international affairs at Carleton University in Ottawa, "want to be called tall among the tall, but also want to be seen as peaceful."

Harriet Chisholm, director of the University of Calgary's media studies program, said that



Bush: 'what we say goes'

because the country has not fought since the Korean conflict, most young Canadians have no experience with war. "That's why citizens in each questioning," she said. Eyes without the potential for high Canadian casualties, said John Wright, a vice-president of the Angus Reid polling firm. "These body bags begin to serve home, there will be some downward impact" on public opinion. And Wright predicted that opinion will change from week to week. "It's a subtle issue," he said. "Canadian mood will see going to war as a last resort."

Westsell: Still, many Canadians remain firmly committed to their positions. "I think my body's involvement in the war is a waste of time," said Michael Debono, a 25-year-old bartender on Quadra Island, B.C. There have been antiwar demonstrations from coast to coast, including a Vancouver rally two weeks ago attended by several thousand people. Lee Hobson, president of Canadian Vietnam Veterans-Civilians, who was one of 25,000 Canadians to serve in the U.S. military during the war, said that he has "real scared reactions" when he sees the demonstrators. "They certainly have the right," said Hobson, now a 45-year-old bookshop owner in Stettler Falls, Alta. "But I don't agree with it. I know the ramifications on the fighting men." But Patricia Sharpe, a 43-year-old substitute teacher in Guelph, P.E.I., said that although she supports the war, she has struggled with how she would react if the allies suffer high casualties. "I haven't really come to a consensus."



Veterans at the Vietnamese memorial: a troubled American memory

what causation means—and won't until the bodies start coming home."

At the moment, polls show French support for the war at 50 per cent. But there are marked signs of discontent in Protestant Francophone Canada's separatist party. Just hours after the allies began bombing Iraq, Franco's devout Quebecois leader, Jean-Pierre Charron, announced that the country's 12,000 troops would not fight inside Iraqi territory.

"We will, we will have fought a desperate battle to defend the United States but it's a new credibility, and what we say goes," Charron said. US officials have not only driven Hussein out of Kuwait—they hope, once and for all, to drive away the demons of Vietnam.

BOB LEVIN and **JENN BARNETT** in Washington, **MARY MONTY** in Toronto, **BRUCE WALLACE** in Ottawa and **PETER LEWIS** in Montreal

That marine mentioned the first instance in which Canadians had fired shots at an enemy in declared combat since the Korean War, said Marion Kendall later. "He didn't make a big deal of it, except to say it was a chance to do something."

But she was disconcerted that the episode had elevated her husband by the status of hero to the ranks of many of his fellow Canadians. A case for The Star? The journal had been working for special access for three months—and happened to get approval to cover Kendall's mission for a documentary on the life of pilots in Qatar. It aired the next evening, showing viewers scenes of Kendall and Hill taking off, landing and emerging from a debriefing by the end of last week. Marion Kendall had received as

many as 70 congratulatory calls from well-wishers across North America. "I was quite quoted," she said.

Still, like other family members of Canadians serving in the Gulf, Marion Kendall said that she was grateful for the emotional link that the enterprise has provided with her husband. She has spoken with him three times since her brother left on Jan. 16. It is a stark contrast to earlier wars, when many families went for years without loved ones serving overseas.

Not speaking, said Marion Kendall: "If I couldn't talk to him, I would be a lot more upset." And she would not have heard so quickly about his place in history.

JOHN BURKE in Calgary

A CALL FROM A DESERT HERO

Then 13-year-old Greg Kendall answered the telephone at his home on the Canadian Forces base at Cold Lake, Alta., on Jan. 29. He was asked to hear his father, Maj. David Kendall, calling from Camp Steiner in Kuwait. Kendall, a 43-year-old native of Calgary, chatted with his son and his two other children for several minutes but did not disclose the reason for his call. Instead, he warned his wife by a sound phone booth on the Texas desert airway for his wife to come in from snowshoeing the desert way and return his call. Only then did he reveal that he had used pilot-type, Stone-Hill fed, just returned to their "Desert Hotel" in Saudi after flying them 18 fighter jets on a night patrol over the Gulf, during which they had staked out Iraqi patrol best.



Kendall, now stateside

Greg, carrying a rifle and night up front. According to a retired colonel from General Electric, "Praise Major David Major" is just what Bush told him to do."

Peterborough's second-term mayor, Sylvie Sutherland, 36, was noticeably cautious in her assessment of public support in the city for war. There was, she said, "a fair degree of reluctant support, with pockets of protest." Previously, Sutherland said that while she supported Canada's role in the conflict, she had opposition to the war "in some ways for same definable." And noting the intense media pre-

THE COST FACTOR

GULF DEBATE HEATS UP A TEST TOWN



The two sides of color against the town, now, are like two students facing apart, silent directly across from each other of view. The single figure nears the entrance to Trent University in Peterborough, Ont., rises from what one group of students calls a "peace fest"—their symbolic protest against the Gulf War. Down along the sweeping road are the main campus, dozens of yellow plastic ribbons above trees and light standards—symbols of another group's desire to show its support for Canadian troops overseas. Said one of the ribbon hangers, Tamara Berlin, a 20-year-old liberal arts student: "I believe in the cause." At the campsite, however, Ellen Rambukuska, 42, a part-time student and a mother of three who has helped to keep the small fire burning since Jan. 18, two days after the war began and "flagrant" of Canada's role before, as a participant."

The clash of views at Peterborough's small academic community is reflected throughout the city of 85,000, 125 km northeast of Toronto. With its university, its local business community and an handful of international industries among them General Electric, Gencor Inc. and the Quebec Gas Co. of Canada Ltd., Peterborough has traditionally served marketing experts as a place to test marketing strategies. In 1990, a national government committee took the reaction to peacekeeping in Peterborough four years before making the measurement standard mandatory. If it tried now to gauge attitudes towards the Gulf War there, it would receive a decidedly mixed report. While Middle America solidly supports the war, the Peterborough model of Middle Canada was for less decisive.

Weak. For many residents, the issue is simply a matter of standing up to a tyrant, as Greg like Hussey has to be stopped," said Donald McInnes, 44, as he took a rifle break late one evening as an Ottawa shopping foreman. Added McInnes: "I really believe that the majority of Canadians support the cause and our forces over there." At another coffee shop nearby, Brian Atkinson, 50, pastor of the Edmon Heights Bible Chapel, was watching a quick broadcast—and expressing a similar view. Deirdre Anson, 44, Hussey's basically a little sister."

Hussey, carrying a rifle and night up front,

According to a retired colonel from General Electric, "Praise Major David Major" is just what Bush told him to do."

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occupation with the conflict, Sutherland claimed that support for Canada's participation could shift quickly and unpredictable.

Indeed, in Peterborough, the word "war" evoked concern for the rising numbers of dead and injured in the war. That was particularly evident after heavy fighting broke out in northern Saudi Arabia between battalions of Iraqi troops and Saudi and US units. But there was disagreement whether the casualty toll will affect attitudes. Sutherland, for one, predicted that "it is going to be harder to hold on to support."

By contrast, Trent women's studies student Meadow Meade, 19, who opposes the war, expressed concern that battlefield losses may strengthen the alliance's determination to fight. "God Mads, running at the peace fire," she said. "I'm afraid that the more people that die on the coalition side, the more people will say that we need to go to support the troops and the government."

Better. Clearly, there were many residents who felt that the war should not be abandoned. Despite his own predilection that more than a thousand coalition troops will die in the conflict, shopping foreman McInnes said that he believes it is important to support the war. He added: "Once you have made a commitment, you have to be willing to suffer for the losses, an devastating as that may be."

But opponents and supporters interviewed tended to be critical of Mulroney's handling of the crisis. Most of them said that the government should have consulted more widely with the public—*and Parliament*—before committing Canadian troops. Said 35-year-old carpenter Jason Johnson, who supports the war effort: "There should have been a referendum, even if everyone and yes. The way they just went and did it was wrong." Finally, ordinary Canadians continue to divide both the masses and the ends of their country's fateful decision to wage war in the Gulf.

GEORG W. TAYLOR in Peterborough



Barbers Dennis Martin (left) and Jones at the Mug & Brush: flags and yellow ribbons

'GO AFTER SADDAM AND KILL HIM'

'MIDDLETOWN' SUPPORTS THE WAR

Outside the Mug & Brush, an old-style barbershop in Muncie, Ind., a fluorescent cuff-a-wrist glow was a standard item of presentation. "We're proud of our armed forces," said Dennis Jones, 31, of the Persian Gulf War who was whipping up soaks as thick as the white foam that barber Ron Jones had smeared on a customer's head. "Saddam Hussein's a madman and he needs to be stopped," said Jones, 56, of the Iraq president. "We should go there and make em." Customer Donald Lewis agreed. Mocking the sound of exploding bombs, "just pour," hitting his open palm with a clenched fist, he declared, "We need to drop the big one." Added Lewis, a tool engineer at a local auto plant: "Just like Japan—dive the warhead bomb. Then they should go after Saddam and kill him. Then it's over." Although not all Muncie residents take as militarily, the war fever that has struck the Indiana town reflects the overwhelming popular support for the Gulf battle across America.

Muncie (population 77,200), located 80 km northeast of Indianapolis, came to national attention in the 1980s, when acquaintances Robert and Shirley Lynn called it "Middletown" because it typified America's adulterous heartland. In a 1984-1985 update of the Lynn classic series, half of the Muncie residents surveyed agreed that the Boro was "affectionately prone to all problems of modern life," while 75 percent preferred the United States to be the "best country in the world." Muncie's exports rarely touch its residents or the average American city to find new products. And last week, as U.S. soldiers fought their first ground battle with Iraqi troops, flag-waving Muncie was embracing Donald Rumsfeld's new war effort with crusade-like fervor.

Support: The signs of that support were almost everywhere. Town meetings start with a prayer for U.S. troops. A local baseball team wears American flag patches on its jerseys, and rallygoers, unashamedly supportive for the 250 Muncie servicemen in the Gulf, flaunt from trees and car wreaths on the chill Indiana air. In fact, when Phyllis Zimmerman, a history professor at Muncie's Ball State University, called back "triggy-happy" on a front-page article in The Muncie Star on Jan. 17, many local residents discovered her as mysteri-

ous in letters to the editor and demanded that the university dismiss her. "It is so uncharming and an unconvincing kind of patriotism," said Doretha Hooper, the director of the Center for Middletown Studies at Ball State. "People call to kick Saddam Hussein's ass but have a great resource here and an appeal which really works."

Bright: In the heart of the American midwest where cheap gas is considered a bright and shiny gift linked to the auto industry, Hussein had to take over some of the world's richest oilfields—and the assumption that living his nuclear weapons—had to be a raw nerve. "A madman continuing to press on the American conscience," says University president Warren Snyder Hill. "The president frightening things like Americans are not going to remain ignorant because of the nuclear trigger."

At the Full Gospel Tabernacle, the 450-member fundamentalist congregation collected nearly \$3,300 to help buy 55,000 pocket Bibles for the frontline troops. Wearing a Star-and-Stripes head pin, Rev. Dennis Sheller, 49, declared: "The dropping of the atom bomb on Japan was horrible and many thousands died, but millions more were saved." Added John Hefner, the minister's 25-year-old son: "God is in control, not Saddam Hussein, not America. I pray that God will avenge Saddam and destroy the evil at hand."

At the Tenter's Lounge restaurant, owner of the blue-collar parsons seemed to favor a more direct course of action. "I am true American," said truck driver Carl Upchurch. "Do something to me and 10 Iraqis ought to pay for it." Rainman Robert Brown, wearing silence maps with skulls and right-on-the-fingers, pointed a long and gnawing way. "The U.S. has to be willing to whatever blood it takes," said Brown, 42, who is plagued by skin cancer and respiratory problems that he attributes to Agent Orange, a defoliant used by the Americans to kill the dense Vietnamese jungle. He blames what he calls the "bleeding hearts" look home for the disastrous outcome of the Vietnam War, which cost more than 58,000 American lives.

That call for an all-out war effort echoed even among the 200 members of Jesus—Matthew, Mattie, and Maurice Agnew. Southern Muncie, "I don't think you can put a price on peace," said Mary Lou Fabb, 45, whose son Philip, 21, is a soldier with a cavalry regiment in South Africa. Another Muncie constable, Taca Long, proudly displayed a button with a photograph of his 22-year-old son, Mark, who drives armaments, missiles and tanks to the front line with the 24th Mechanized Infantry. "I've never forced anyone to much as I fear Saddam Hussein," she said. "Even if it costs my son and many others, Saddam Hussein has to be stopped." For many of the people of Muncie, sacrifice is plainly a patriotic duty.

SILVIA NUCKLEHILL in Muncie



Russian Prince.
You'll find him in all the best circles.

Orange juice, tonic, tomato juice...the vodka that gets around.

COVER

'SEND IN THE GRUNTS'

FOOT SOLDIERS FACE A FIRST BATTLE



Left: Sgt. Rick Taylor, a U.S. Marine Corps instructor, calls in the "big peak mist." It is the prelude to a young Marine's first combat, why they have to stand around in a literally cold wind while he runs through—for the third time in a single morning—the techniques for clearing away Iraqi land mines. "When your buddies disappear in a big tank nest with body parts flying, you know what to do," he shouts. Taylor's language is frank, almost brutal. But it prepares his troops, and thousands of others camped in the desert of northern Saudi Arabia, to steel themselves to assault Iraqi forces dug in along the Kuwaiti border. After Iraqi forces launched a ground assault into Saudi Arabia and held the coastal city of Khafji for more than 30 hours last week, there was no more room for illusions. Ground fighting is bloody, and Taylor's job was to make sure that his men were ready for the worst.

The allied counteroffensive against Iraq

trajectories in Kuwait, if it comes, will be sharp contrast to the air campaign that has dominated the Gulf conflict so far. According to the Pentagon, at least 36 coalition pilots are missing in action and at least 12 have been captured as prisoners of war; the rest have launched their sophisticated missiles and scattered smart bombs and returned safely to base—often with videotape of the attack. Coalition officers say that these forces have a major technological advantage on the ground, as well. But last week, allied officials said that 11 U.S. marines and four Saudi soldiers were killed in the battle for control of Khafji during the war's first ground battle. And although U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf responded to the attack as "no surprise to an elephant," it took Saudi troops, backed by Qatar tanks and U.S. air and artillery cover, more than 14 days to retake the city.

Gently, a coalition offensive to dislodge Iraqi forces from Kuwait would be far more costly. The currency of the ground war would be the lives of its own troops, young Marines and the rest of the force sent to break Iraq's defensive line. And what they would face is one of the most formidable series of barriers

from 18 countries, there is a slow acceptance that the air force will almost certainly not be able to finish the job. "When all else fails, and it always does . . ." begins Specialist Scott Gill, a 21-year-old infantryman with the U.S. 1st Infantry Division, Halibutts, Pa. Thomas Schaeffer, finished the thought: "Send in the grunts."

Still, the grunts, the army's basic foot soldiers, would like to be the ones to finish the Iraqis off. That would be the job of combat engineers, who are the masters being trained by Sgt. Taylor. They would clear a path through the fields of mines laid by Iraqi hundreds of thousands of deadly devices consisting of antipersonnel charges that can blow a 60-ton tank five feet off the ground, to so-called booby traps designed to blow the feet off of unlucky soldiers. The engineers would clear a path through the mines with bulldozers led by fling British rocket-propelled "bazookas," which detonate a string of explosives across a minefield, triggering the mines haphazardly.

Hazardous: But other methods are more basic and have not changed since the Second World War. Soldiers would use hand-held mine detectors and probe the sand for mines with wooden stakes. In training sessions they practice with empty self-drinking cans buried in the sand. In real life, it is hazardous, painstaking work. "This isn't the war to be out there playing Monopoly," cautions Maj. George Gribble, a marine mine expert.

In theory, allied forces would then break through the Iraqi defenses by overwhelming tank forces and sending points along the enemy lines, sending their armor through the lines cleared of mines. And along with the tanks come the bayonet-wielding grunts, with the most basic tools they will need to engage enemy soldiers at close range: a bayonet fixed long刺刀) and bayonetted clubs, plus not too many defenders who have survived air and artillery bombardment.

In the final 300 yards of battle, they will

Saudi tank on the attack at Khafji move easily

over unobstructed the so-called Sedan Line consists of sand dunes, trenches, craters and depressions, obstacles were that began just over two kilometers from the Saudi border and continues all the way to Kuwait City.

The modes of coalition offensive teams in forward positions are fastened with maps showing Iraq's defenses it details, the fruit of months of satellite and aerial reconnaissance photography. Leading up to G-Day, the soldiers' inclination for the day of the major ground offensive, U.S. warplanes are pounding the long lines in an effort to break their resistance. But on the ground, among the adders from 18 countries, there is a slow acceptance that the air force will almost certainly not be able to finish the job. "When all else fails, and it always does . . ." begins Specialist Scott Gill, a 21-year-old infantryman with the U.S. 1st Infantry Division, Halibutts, Pa. Thomas Schaeffer, finished the thought: "Send in the grunts."

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have to move north to the brigade's forward position. Perhaps and that he has not been told to expect up to 1,000 casualties in the first 30 hours of a full-scale battle. "Bullet wounds, artillery shrapnel, fragmentation—anything you can think of," he says. So, adds Parsons, the biggest fear among field troops on the front lines is that Iraq might bombard



Dead Iraqi soldier: a slow acceptance that the infantry will have to finish the job

them with poison gas chemicals—but did during its war with Iran. "I'm afraid, no question," he says. "And part of what scares me is what I'll be like after it's all over. Will it have some kind of psychological effect? I mean, I've never even seen a dead body before." And of the utterances of war, that was sure to change.

ANDREW PHILLIPS is a native South African

CANADIANS FIGHT FOR UNCLE SAM

Capt. Brian Helly says that he takes a Canadian flag on every mission that he U.S. air force since came surveillance plane has over Saudi Arabia. "It's just for good luck—and to remember who you are," he says. Although he is a part of an American crew, Helly, 31, is a member of the Canadian Forces, one of three such units doing AFCS missions on the U.S. aircraft. They are part of a 46-aircrew Canadian team specially assigned to the specialized early-warning planes at Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma, as part of a Canada-U.S. air defense agreement. The Canadians are among the most experienced AFCS operators at the base, Helly and his team, as "this is probably the best going over" to the Gulf.

Indeed, Helly, a native of Toronto, was in the air when the war started on Jan. 17. He was aboard a high-flying aircraft plane sent up to coordinate the first assault on Iraqi defenses. As a surveillance officer, Helly was responsible for running the radar systems that give the U.S. forces a considerable edge over Iraq. "All of us had to know yourself or war," he says. "It's really sobering thought."

Pentagon officials say they have no idea how many Canadians are serving with U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia. But there is a small number scattered through the American services. U.S. Air Force Lt.-Col. Michael Georges, 47, of Montreal, is the staff psychiatrist at an air force hospital in southern Saudi Arabia. There, he deals with a steady stream of patients having difficulty adjusting to being in a war zone. Georges has been with the U.S. air force for only two years before he became overseas. "It's not in my plan," he says, "but it's OK."

Other Canadians in Saudi Arabia have found even more unusual ways to contribute to the

war effort. Michael Beesley, an education consultant from Victoria, was employed at Khamis Khan when Iraq invaded but, August, Beesley, 27, was working on curriculum development with the Kuwait air force's technical training school when both he and his other foreign consultants had to leave because of the war, that was sure to change.

That air force manager moved to 20-A-4 Skyhawk fighter-bombers, and it now flies them against Iraqi forces offshore. Beesley has a more direct combat role. He learned how to build bombs for the Skyhawks. Beesley says that he knows the bombs are killing Iraqi troops, but he expresses few qualms. "I new situation that the Iraqis were doing to Kuwait," he said last week. "It's hard to be a pacifist in a situation like that."

A.P. & DPA



Patriot missile launcher at the ready; critics claim that Turkey risks escalation and being dragged fully into the war

THE NORTHERN RAIDERS

U.S. JETS ATTACK FROM TURKISH BASES

During the life of the nation is threatened, war is a crime.

—Kernan Adnan

Although he died 82 years ago, Ataturk remains a powerful symbol in modern Turkey, the secularized, West-leaning nation that he created from the rubble of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. Postcard, stamps, books, maps, offices and restaurants across the country. And his sayings are still widely quoted as the guiding principles of a nation struggling to become a fully-fledged democracy. Ataturk's historic stance that war is a crime has become powerful ammunition for those who claim that the current衅子 (Turkish Deli) has made a serious error in allowing the United States to launch a powerful air campaign against Iraq from bases in northern Iraq.

Many Turks believe the NATO deployment of US and German aircraft to defend their country against Iraqi attack. But Deli's critics claim that by allowing U.S. planes to fly other

six minutes from Turkey, he is risking retaliation by Iraq. So far, Ankara has been able to turn back the Turkish military to strike back at Iraqi forces across its southeastern border—and drag the country fully into the Gulf War. Silivriye Demirel, the conservative opposition leader and former prime minister, and last week "I never say that Turkey should not enter the war. It has already entered the war."

In fact, thousands of U.S. aircraft are based at the giant airbase at Incirlik on the outskirts of the group southern city of Adana. The pilots fly several types of aircraft, including F-111 bombers, F-16 ground-attack fighters and F/A-18 interceptors. They are supported by AWACS flying command-and-control centers and KC-135 air-to-air refueling tankers. Several bases a day, aircraft roar into the skies to bomb and rocket targets in northern Iraq.

But because of severe air indoctrination in the war with a Muslim neighbor, the Deli government seems anxious to displease the

bombing raids from Incirlik. Observers say that Ankara has "frustrated" the genetically eccentric Turkish general to limit its reporting about base activities, and it has barred the state-owned television service and Associated News Agency from returning to the base at all. Allied officers, in military level wings held in Washington and in the Saudi Arabian capital, Riyadh, do not directly mention Incirlik either. The Americans apparently do not want to embarrass their ally (sic).

Incirlik has heavy defensive deployments around its perimeter. In terms usually occupied only by shipyards and their docks, batteries of flamer anti-aircraft missiles are now mounted under camouflage netting. As well, at least eight Patriot launchers, the technological star of the early Gulf War, dominate a ridge line. Each computer-controlled battery of eight launchers costs \$14 million, and each individual missile costs \$1.2 million.

The presence, well-known to the civilian population because at least one Patriot was

brought accidentally in the opening days of the war, offers some reassurance to residents. Turks have seen the Patriot's capabilities demonstrated in television footage from Tel Aviv and Riyadh, where they have repeatedly shot down Israeli aircraft. Still, the people of the Incirlik area are clearly worried. Many of them, that local townsmen are available and their President, Suleyman Demirel, may have been captured in their direction.

Mustafa Akinci, the provincial governor, recently stressed that the government has used only \$900 million to be distributed among the city's six million people. This of thousands of Iraqis have fled to safer parts of the country, and economic activity in the region has dropped off dramatically. Local lawyer Hafizhan Ertugras said that he has seen his family members to Mersin, 75 km to the southwest, and only sees them as weekends. He added: "Nobody is sleeping at night. Business is terrible. Nobody is buying. The economy is going down every day, and people are withdrawing their money from the banks."

The economic downturn is particularly sharpening Incirlik, which borders on one side of the base. For more than three decades, the streets have served as the U.S. drivers and their families have settled there with gusto. Now, the shopping areas, Bob's Barber Shop, Jimmy's Cappuccino, Eddie Leather and Ali's Copper Shop—say that business has dried up. Timur Celik, proprietor of Tim's Players, produced a new line of handwoven copper wall decorations to celebrate Operation Desert Storm. They depict U.S. warplanes flying toward Iraq bearing such slogans as "To Saddam with love" and "Wingstop to Baghdad". But Celik says, "The Americans have sent their sons and children home and seen the view of the war, they don't leave the house. Business is dead. Half the people in this village have left."

There are additional concerns to Adana and other towns in northeastern Turkey, where smaller numbers of U.S. planes are based. Last week, the state news agency reported that Iraq had moved several Scud missile launchers close to the Turkish border, an action that many experts said could be a prelude to a retaliatory strike. But at first, the Iraqi authorities, in a speech to Turkey, Selahattin Mekbul Al-Bakri, convened a different interview to the Turkish people. Declared the un-

homeland: "We are friends and neighbors for eternity. I hope things will return to normal after the war." That statement, however, failed to assuage many Turks who recalled Hussein's promise last summer that he would not invade Kuwait.

Military analysts stress the strategic importance of sites such as Incirlik. In the event of target strikes, the region is likely for many of Iraq's aircraft, chemical and biological weapons, although the Americans claim to have destroyed most of them. The area also includes many of the emblems from which Iraqi warplanes have fled to Iran, as well as the impor-



Fighter at airbase in Turkey; (below) nobody sleeps at night, business is terrible

tional oil installations around the cities of Karsik and Mardin.

In other developments, the Iraqis claimed to have destroyed a U-2 plane that they said collided in flames with Turkey. And Iraqi Kurdish rebel sources reported that the body of an American pilot had been dragged through the streets of Mosul behind an Iraqi army vehicle.

Policia Deli hastened his country to the brink of war despite opinion polls that show more than 80 per cent of his people oppose letting the Americans use Turkish bases to strike Iraq. In the process, he is apparently hoping to entice Turkey's admission into the European Community by re-affirming its pro-Western credentials to the aftermath of the Cold War. As well, he may try to convince Washington to reward him by re-equipping his armed forces—and to grant him at least at the postwar negotiating table. By Deli's own account last week, his main concern as any negotiations will be to ensure that

deaths in the past two weeks at U.S. and other Western offices and installations in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Adana. Damage has been inflicted and no one has been killed.

Meanwhile, Islamic fundamentalists, who also oppose Deli's policy have condemned his activities in street demonstrations. But extremists among them unfortunately are capable of carrying out acts of lethal violence. In the past 12 months, they have been responsible for 17 assassinations not directly connected with the Gulf crisis. The most recent of those occurred last week when a terrorist planted a short-delayed car bomb in Ankara.

Carely, widespread outbreaks of terrorism, inspired by Saddam Hussein's call for a holy war against his enemies, assume a role in Turkey. Religious Sufi shrines across less Kirk, analysts say, because Hussein, with an estimated 100,000 Iraqi troops across their common border, would prefer to avoid a northern ground war. But the Iraqi dictator has proven his unpredictability. And so, Turks seem to be content that Hussein might still strike in their direction, whatever the price.



JOHN BIRMINGHAM

ISLAM AND THE GULF WAR

WHY MANY MOSLEMS SUPPORT IRAQ



In the city of Lahore, Pakistan, thousands of people have marched through the streets since the war in the Persian Gulf began on Jan. 17, shouting "Saddam Hussein, Hussein!" In the Pakistani capital of Karachi, university students wore badges with the words "Love Saddam, hate America." At the same time, Saudi Arabian troops, after helping win the battle of Kuwait against Iraq forces, invoked the same Islamic religion and the same God on their behalf: "Allah is great," they chanted—"God is great"—waving their rifles in the air. On Jan. 31, 60,000 Algerians marched through the streets of the capital city, Algiers, shouting "Allah, Allah, and chanting 'Victory to Islam and the Muslims'." Whatever Western governments portrayed the Iraq invasion as a ruthless dictator and the cause of the Gulf War, popular opinion at least had a deep Islamic sense of兄弟感 (brotherhood) among Moslems here—and against their fellow Moslems fighting with the forces of the tv coalition. As a result, some Western analysts predicted that the divisions in the Islamic world will have a lasting effect on the political climate in the Middle East. Said Rachid Attarous, president of the Montreal-based Center for Arabic Studies: "The whole region will be a religious volcano for years to come."

With the war as its third week, pro-Iraq demonstrators had raised their voices—and their fury—across the Islamic world, including Egypt, Jordan, Turkey, Algeria and Pakistan. Meanwhile, Westerners portrayed the conflict as a jihad, or holy war, between the Moslem faithful and Western infidels. Those emotional appeals stirred strongly held and centuries-old Islamic beliefs (page 36). President George Bush has tried to prevent the war

from becoming a religious conflict. But in addressing a religious group, he, too, invoked God and prayer as support of the allied cause. He and his wife, Barbara, also spent the night the war began at the White House with evangelist Billy Graham.

In a speech to the annual convention of the National Association of Religious Broadcasters, Bush described the Gulf War as a struggle between "good versus evil, right versus wrong, human dignity and brotherhood versus tyranny and oppression." Bush said that the struggle epitomized Islamic values, but that it was not a war over religion or between competing faiths. Added Bush: "The Gulf is not a Christian war; it was not a Moslem war. It is a war of all." And when 11 U.S. marines were killed in the first land attack of the war, Bush declared that "Saddam is not the day of prayer."

But Hussein continued to insist that Allah, the Islamic name for the deity, was on Iraq's side for Moslems everywhere. With didactic-based Cable News Network television on Jan.

12, Hussein told a visiting NBC reporter: "We are promised eternity in paradise."

or has God on his side is never defeated."

Among members of the tv coalition, Hussein's pronouncements, and his attempts to enlist the support of devout Moslems, aroused skepticism and, in some cases, outrage. Muhammad al-Nikras, a religious scholar in Damascus on the Gulf coast of Saudi Arabia, said that Iraq is among the most secular of Arab states. He accused Hussein of nurturing political rivalries, gaining innocent civilians and embarking on the military conquest of a neighborhood. Muslim clerics, however, have been more accepting of the ruler. They accept and revere the creed: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohamed is his prophet." Moslems also pray five times daily by kneeling and leaning towards Mecca, the prophet's birthplace, in Saudi Arabia. The most commonly recited prayer in the hajj, the Islamic equivalent of the Christian Last Supper, begins with the words "Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all being." On Friday, men attend a mosque for congregational prayer and a sermon. Fasting during the month of Ramadan, which began this year on March 17, is obligatory; so is charity giving. Every Moslem is expected to make a pilgrimage, or hajj, to Mecca once in his lifetime, and every year millions do so.

Affirmative. Indeed, an analysis of the religious and political divisions that exist within the Moslem world, says Saudi government officials, declared that they were the true defenders of Islam and the holy sites of their faith. Before climbing into the cockpit of their light-tack F-15 fighter jets to wage war against Iraq, Saudi pilots at the Royal Saudi Air Force immediately pronounced themselves and pray: "Whatever Saddam Hussein says about a holy war, we are the ones who have been given a special mission by God," said Maj. Mohamed al-Awadi, a Saudi of the Second Air Force. "Every time a Saudi jet fighter takes off, it is going to fight for the defense of Islam. Every attack we carry out against the Iraqi

carried out in the name of Muhammad."

The war has brought millions of Westerners face-to-face with Islam, a profound and noble religious doctrine. Its basic principles and doctrines are found in the Koran, a sacred text made up of 114 chapters, which believers say is the word of Allah as revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. Practicing Moslems follow the "Five Pillars" of their faith. They accept and revere the creed: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohamed is his prophet." Moslems also pray five times daily by kneeling and leaning towards Mecca, the prophet's birthplace, in Saudi Arabia. The most commonly recited prayer in the hajj, the Islamic equivalent of the Christian Last Supper, begins with the words "Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all being." On Friday, men attend a mosque for congregational prayer and a sermon. Fasting during the month of Ramadan, which began this year on March 17, is obligatory; so is charity giving. Every Moslem is expected to make a pilgrimage, or hajj, to Mecca once in his lifetime, and every year millions do so.

Affirmative.

The Koran also describes in vivid detail the Islamic version of heaven and hell.

Those who are admitted to heaven, properly known as the realm of their forbearance in Islamic principles, are known as the "Companions of the Right." These revered in the shrillest of terms are said to be among the greatest and most virtuous among Moslems. They will sit in "such seats as they choose and such flesh of lamb as they desire." Those who reject Islamic principles, the unbelievers known as the "Companions of the Left," are destined to spend eternity in a blazing fire, with "burning water and boiling water."



Prayer service: believers are promised eternity in paradise



The annual pilgrimage to Mecca: a hajj that attracts those who feel Allah is on

of marriage, is also regarded as odious and evil. The Koran encourages generosity towards relatives, orphans, the sickly, travellers and beggars. It also advises children to respect their parents, regardless of race.

Schism. Within a century of Muhammad's death in 632 A.D., a great schism occurred, leading to the development of the two main branches of Islam: Sunnis and Shias, which will dominate the field. Currently, about 80 per cent of all Moslems are Sunnis, practicing an orthodox brand of Islam that adheres strictly to the shari'a, the central belief of the Shias is that God appears in a series of powerful messengers to lead the Islamic community on earth, dictating correct behavior and moral norms.

Increasingly, a new and potent force has swept through parts of the Moslem world in the form of Islamic fundamentalism. Millions of Moslems in a number of countries, including Libya, Egypt and Algeria, have embraced fundamentalism and rejected what they regard as the pervasive and domineering influence of non-Islamic values and customs. Perhaps the most striking illustration of that development was the Iranian revolution of 1979, in which Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini unleashed a popular spring and overthrew the US-supported Shah of Iran. Islamic fundamentalists then took American diplomats hostage and held 52 of them for 44 days.

The rise of fundamentalism has underscored one of the most significant differences between the Christian and Moslem worlds. Princeton University historian Bernard Lewis, a highly regarded expert on Islam, cautions that Christianity has from its beginnings recognized that church and state were separate realms and the idea became firmly entrenched in the Western world during the past 500 years, notably in the United States. But Islam makes no such distinction. In his 1988 book, *The Political Language of Islam*, Lewis noted: "The principal function of government is to maintain the individual Moslem in line with a good Muslim life. This is the purpose of the state, for which there is established by God, and for which about



Demonstrating in Jordan: enthusiastic supporters



COVER

"*Businesses are given authority over others.*"

The strength of the Islamic wings of religion and politics was evident from the powerful support aroused among Moslems, from North Africa to Central Asia. In Pakistan's approach to its actions, But the growth of pro-Islamism seems to have caused several political difficulties. The Moslem League, in Pakistan, a nation of 110 million whose Islam is the official state religion, pro-Islamist parties practised Islamic, anti-American flags and carried placards depicting Moslem leaders such as "Long live Uncle Saddam" or "Pakistan's leader, Muslim Noonan, claimed that 11,000 Pakistanis had signed documents demanding their release for Iraq. However, the Islamic Democratic government of Pakistan, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has denied evidence.

established ties with the United States and, indeed, has committed 11,000 troops to the allied coalition against Iraq.

Meanwhile, Palestinians living in Jordan, where they make up 6% per cent of the population, and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank were among the most enthusiastic supporters of Saddam Hussein. With his ruling body, the Jordanian Hashemite Kingdom, and Israel used to maintain tight controls over their Palestinian populations. Still, a group of Palestinian protesters danced in the streets of the Jordanian capital, Amman, after learning that an Iraqi Special mission had led to the Amman 19. "For us, Saddam Hussein is still the symbol of freedom and the Arab revolution," said a woman of 18, who had come from one of the Palestinian refugee camps near Amman. "He has succeeded where all other Arabs have failed up to now—in lifting the curse." In Jordan's King Hussein Building, David Anthony

ally delicate situation as popular support grows for Saddam Hussein in a country that has tried to remain neutral in the war.

Huge. In the Israeli-occupied territories, several Palestinians told *Mashable* of their continued support for the long-dictator Saddam Hussein. He is the only hope we have right now to liberate Palestine and help us get back our freedom and dignity," said Zemba, a 29-year-old schoolteacher in Gaza. "Leader Jassim Rashed, a West Bank human rights lawyer, "Palestinians had given up on an Arab world, which seemed not to care for them at all. Their hopes were revived by Saddam Hussein, especially by his massive attacks on Israel."

estimated 60,000 people despite heavy rain. At the conclusion of the march, Front leader Abuza Madan told his supporters: "The United States thinks it is the God of the time, but Allah has shown it is nothing."

In Turkey, the new was an agonising dilemma for many Moslems. Although Turkey had been a member of Nato and its government is officially pro-Western, many Turkish Moslems say that they oppose their government's decision to allow American planes to attack Kurdish rebels in southern Turkey. But they also hold Saudi Arabia in high esteem because the Saudis have provided financial support for an Islamic revolt that is currently under way in Turkey. Saudi funds have paid for the construction of mosques, the establishment of seminaries and religious education.

Even in countries where grassroots support for Iraq appears to be strongest, some Mos-

turnbacks, Bush and crusades, conquests and reconquests," Lewis said. "For the past 1,000 years, Islam was advancing, and Christianity was in retreat and under threat. For the past 300 years, Islam has been on the defense."

There are now an estimated one billion Muslims in the world, mostly concentrated in North Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia, stretching parts of the Indian subcontinent,

Jordanian journalist Kora G. Khouri, a columnist with the English-language daily *The Jordan Times*, said that the majority of Arabs had initially opposed Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait.

Principles for state-level assessment of the Native Sun and elsewhere. Section II gives

Iran became a symbol of Arab defiance as the source of Western domination of the Arab world. The longer Iraq was held out against the Iranian coalition, Khoza said, the greater Hussein's resolve will be to make the Moslem world. He added: "The remote American forces landed at the napalm, the whole equation changed. Hussein was no longer long outplaying Kuwait. It was long standing up to the strongest West. For us now, Iraq symbolizes the willingness to stand up of our leases and confront our enemies."

In fact, some experts on Muslim history and that Hansen was exploring a Muslim identity that can be traced back to the founding of Islam by Muhammad around the year 610 AD. In fact, which like Jacobs and Chavariah turns its focus to the tribal patriarchs whose Moslems, emerged from the heart of the Arab Peninsula in what is now Saudi Arabia. From the beginning, it apparently sought to define itself as a political and religious entity. As a result, the Moslem tribes immediately clashed with Christians, who had already established the Melkite Church Islamic tendencies for years."

SRI, as the war continues, as coalition bombs and missiles pound Iraqi troops and military installations, Hansen's vision as a courageous underling may grow in the relatively Islamic world. Saudi journalist Khader Sadiq Hansen's first lesson in standing up to our enemies, Israel and America, appears to the new spirit of the Arab world, a spirit that says we would rather die on our feet than live groveling on the ground." While the Gulf War is fought in fighter and bomber aircraft, American officials will be fighting in the streets.

According to historian Lewis, the conflict between the two real dervishes has continued throughout the ages. The evolution of Sufism

DATA BY JEFFREY M. BROWN (www.jeffreymbrown.com) © 2013



Osama bin Laden: a symbol of Arab defiance in the face of Western domination

GROWING ANXIETY

SOME ARAB CANADIANS FEEL LIKE ALIENS

When they talk of how the Gulf War has affected them, they speak of fear, despair and anger. Their fellow oil allies, they say, have become increasingly distant, materialistic or openly hostile.

For many of Canada's estimated 180,000 Muslims, the conflict that cuts the desert needs have made them in their own land. Said Khadija Pervaiz, an Islamic teacher at a mosque in Waterloo, Ont., and a mother of four children: "People now think that everyone who is Muslim is a terrorist."

In fact, the war began on Jan. 17 has heightened the visibility and the anxiety of Muslims across Canada, of whom about 125,000 are of Arab descent as well. There are about 55,000 Christians of Arab descent living in Canada. Some Canadians of Arab descent say that they work at family businesses and in the Middle East. Those who wear traditional Muslim clothing are the ones most often seen in the larger parts of malls from coast-to-coast. Mosques in some parts of the country have been filled with eggs and other objects. Iraqi and Palestinians say they were also offended by Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall's Jan. 26 order that if they have Canadian visitors' visas, they will have to apply in person for renewals and that no van will be allowed for more than three months at a time.

Negative speakers For both the Iraqis and the Palestinians said that the action was discriminatory. Qasim Mouslim, the Canadian of Palestinian-Arab Canadians, said that the restrictions may be legal, "but the way [the minister] did it reflects very negatively on our communities."

As well, some Arab Canadians say that the discrimination is not confined to Iraqis and Palestinians. James Kefeli, president of the Toronto-based Canadian Arab Federation, which claims to represent the estimated 380,000 Canadians of Arab origin, said that dozens of Arabs complained of being fol-



Worshippers at Toronto's Jum'a mosque. 'We are your neighbours.'

lowed, questioned or photographed by Canadian Security Intelligence Service agents at demonstrations. Solicitor General Privy Council minister says that this is acting responsibly in trying to advise the government of potential security threats. But Kefeli said: "The message from the government is, if you are an Arab Canadian, keep your mouth shut."

Still, Canadian Moslems refuse to withhold their views. In Edmonton, Toussaint Cheikh, the Imam—or prayer leader—at the city's Al-Rahman mosque, said that on Jan. 11, at its Islamic conference in England, he voted for a holy war against the US coalition if it attacked Iraq. Said Cheikh, who holds Lebanese and Canadian citizenship: "Saddam is a hero because there right? I am just another victim of this war as they are."

Some Arab Canadians have had even more wrenching experiences. One of them is Nizar Serres, a 13-year-old Canadian-born student of Palestinian descent who attends a school at the Toronto-area community of Thornhill. Recently, she said, some of her schoolmates "have been calling me some names like 'terrorist,' 'traitor,' 'Saddam Hussein'—and last day that 'Saddam's sometimes they call me the names for fun, but sometimes they name it and I get angry." Said Donald D'Souza, a York Region magistrate school board representative: "It's an unfortunate by-product of a much more unfortunate situation."

Ahmed Hakim, the director of Toronto's Islamic Social Services and Resources Association, said that Moslems are experiencing frustration and despair. "That's one who talked of suicide the other night," he said. "Well, I guess it does."

Hypocrites Most Moslem Canadians and Andrew Ripley, who teaches religion at the University of Waterloo, feel that "there is a strong sense of hypocrisy in the Americas." They worry the Washington is not acting on an implementation of earlier UN resolutions calling for the Israeli military to withdraw from occupied territories.

Hakim said that the war has highlighted what he called a double standard. Declared Hakim: "What people in Israel are killed, there is a West. There is no spear when people in Iraq are killed." Amrit Hassan, a 21-year-old University of Toronto graduate student whose parents emigrated from Pakistan, said that Moslems "are not going to blow up your house because of Saddam Hussein. We are not the enemy. We are your neighbors." Canadians of other races and religions, and Moslems, should make greater efforts to understand the nature of Islam, what may be happening already, in the war焦躁 atmosphere on the culture and aspirations of the world.

RAE CORELLI with DIANE BEAUDY in TORONTO JOHN HORNBY in Calgary; MICHAEL QUINN in Vancouver and correspondent/reviewer



Reconstructed gate of Ishtar at Babylon: defeat could foster further unrest

THE WILL TO FIGHT—AND DIE

HUSSEIN CALLS FOR A HOLY WAR

From the start of the current Persian Gulf War, Iraq's President Saddam Hussein has called on Moslems worldwide to support a jihad, or holy war, against the allies. Some Moslems believe that Moslems should support Hussein's appeal because it was the Iraqi regime—not a non-Moslem government—that provoked the present conflict by invading Kuwait, a fellow Moslem country. They say this jihad, the internal Arabic word for "struggle," is a strongly religious concept based on the defense of Islam—and that 34 Moslem countries are part of the 31-member U.S.-led coalition. Still, many pro-Iraq Moslems insist that the Gulf War is a jihad, invoking the Islamic tradition that Moslem wars are followed when they defended themselves against an invading European Crusaders nearly 900 years ago and, more recently, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Experts on Islamic affairs say that neither factor underlying Moslems' response to the Gulf War is a pressing for the Islamic world to reacquire its historical greatness. Islam was the last of three major religions, after Judaism and Christianity, to emerge from the ancient civilizations of the Middle East. After its birth

in the 7th century, or to unify the nomadic tribes of the Arabian peninsula. The caliph, who succeeded Muhammad as leader of the Arab world, successfully took arms against the Christian Byzantine Empire in Egypt and the Italy Land. By the end of the ninth century, Moslem armies had extended Islamic power from Spain to the borders of India.

Warfare The aggressive spread of Islam triggered a protracted conflict with the Christians of Eastern Europe. With Christians' belief in Jesus, instead of Islam's belief in Allah and Muhammad, Christians—driven by Islam's Turks from Central Asia—had the Byzantine Empire to fight. In 1099, Pope Urban II persuaded Europe's leaders to take up their swords in dispute and, in the spring of 1096, a force of 30,000 mostly French knights and infantry began the Crusades—a period of nearly 500 years of intermittent warfare in Palestine. Jerusalem fell to the Christians in the first Crusade, but was regained in 1187 by Saladin, the sultan of Egypt and Syria. The Christian nations did not gain full control over the Holy Land until 1291, when Britain was administrative power over Palestine under a League of Nations mandate.

Christians won all the way down to Tokyo. Armies of pagans Mongols sweep out of Central Asia during the 13th century to conquer much of the Muslim world. But the Islamic Mamluk who ruled Egypt successfully defeated Polovtsi against a Mongol horde led by Hulagu in 1260. Two centuries later, the Ottoman Empire gave way to the Moslem Ottoman Empire, which by the 16th century controlled the Middle East, North Africa and parts of Eastern Europe.

Islam's political reach eventually exceeded its group, the decline of the Ottoman Empire during the 18th and 19th centuries coincided with the expansion of European colonial rule. During the First World War, the eccentric English soldier Sir Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) joined in an Allied assault against Turkish Anatolia. The end of the war, the victorious Allies reduced other aristocracy—the ruler of the Middle East, leading to the creation of the modern nation of Syria, Iraq and Kuwait to reflect the interests of Britain and France. Experts on Islamic affairs say that Moslems view the current conflict against Saddam Hussein, the forces of Islam could serve to expand the influence of Islam in part of these people."

Prove Islamic scholar Jamal Badawi, chairman of the Islamic Information Foundation in Halifax, insists that a jihad is "permitted only as self-defense or against tyranny and oppression—not as a tool to promote Islam." But experts add, the ascetic Islamic emphasis were built as much by force as by persuasion. Islam's founder, Muhammad, frequently used



Badawi: religious factors

300 years of humiliations. Said Badawi: "I can't think of any Moslem who would not have sympathy with fellow Moslems being capacity killed. In as little as this, religion before becomes very important." As a result, even if the coalition achieves peace against Saddam Hussein, the forces of Islam could serve to further foment unrest far into the future.

JAMES DEACON with DIANE BEAUDY

A BOARDROOM WARNING

QUEBEC'S BUSINESS LEADERS VOW THAT THEY WILL FIGHT, UP TO A POINT, FOR REFORMED FEDERALISM

Quebec's business community is clearly far from united in its approach to federalism. Only a handful of corporate executives supports the existing federal structure—in spite of—and rather than threatening to move, they promise to stay in the province and fight for a major overhaul of federalism—while warning Quebecers about the economic costs of independence. "For the last 20 years, the debate has been cultural and emotional," said Pierre Blouin, chief executive officer of Lavaltrie Beausoleil Gauthier, Quebec's largest investment advisor. "No one has had the guts to put the economy in the table."

So far, at least, most of the province's business community have remained from playing an active role in the public debate—but according to Ghislain Dufour, head of the Employers' Council of Quebec, whose members include 480 of the province's largest corporations, that is about to change. Dufour, who also sits on the Bégin-Campbell committee on the province's future, says that many of his organization's most prominent members are preparing to speak out in favour of reformed federalism. The campaign will begin this month with speeches by Senator Claude Carignan, chairman of the Laurentian Group of financial companies; Raymond Côté, chairman of First Inc.; Paul Diemersma, chairman of Power Corp.; and Brian Malone, chairman of Provinco Inc.



PHOTO: AP/WIDEWORLD

constitutional agreement. The vast majority of business leaders say that the current system needs to change in order to give Quebec more autonomy and solve the country's economic problems. But they disagree about the magnitude of the changes that are needed—and about whether English Canada will ever agree to most of Quebec's demands.

Even companies that are financially linked to each other have adopted surprisingly different positions. Côteur Inc., for one, a Montreal-based food processing and distribution company, is 53 per cent owned by the powerful Montreal-based diocesan Diagonair, Quebec's credit union organization, which has emerged as a vocal advocate of separation. But Jean-Réal Hélie, Côteur's president, says that he is aware that Quebecers are pushing steadily towards independence without clearly examining the costs. Dejaqué Hélie: "We in the business community have not done enough work thinking about some very key questions. For example, what would the cost of capital be? I don't want to have to compete with international companies if I have to pay a higher cost to borrow money."

Hélie's concerns are similar to those expressed by other members of Quebec's economic elite. David Ardo, the Greek-born president of Perseus Carpets Corp. of Montreal, the largest carpet manufacturer in Canada and the fourth largest in the world, is among those who argue in favour of moderate restructuring of

federalism. He added that Quebecers have failed to consider carefully the long-term consequences of sovereignty. "What scares me most is that we have no idea what it will cost or how we'll get there," Ardo said. "The amount of investment coming into the province would certainly suffer. I wonder about a backlash from the rest of Canada. Sales of products with a 'Made in Quebec' label might be hurt."

André Bégin, chairman of the Montreal-based National Bank of Canada, another leading businessman who says that Quebecers should cautiously weigh the economic impact of independence. "People should require those political leaders to have very rigid, clear-cut answers at this point," Bégin says. "And then the people of Quebec will decide what kind of future they want to have."

Even so, many members of Quebec's business community insist that significant changes are necessary if Quebec is to remain in Canada. They express confidence that, beginning with business groups across the country, Canadians as a whole will eventually recognize that the country is a two-centred land and that more power should be transferred to the provinces. Said Hélie: "The country is at best stage. We're going nowhere economically, we're losing our competitiveness and our cost of capital is high. It seems to me that all Canadians have an interest in fixing the problem."

The degree of constitutional change asked for by business leaders varies widely. The Quebec Chamber of Commerce, which is dominated by small businesses throughout the province, called for exclusive jurisdiction over 24 separate policy areas. The list, similar to one

made public last week by a special committee of the Quebec Liberal party, included education, health, justice, communications, the environment and social programs such as unemployment insurance, family allowances and old-age security.

At the other end of the political spectrum is the Employers' Council of Quebec. According to Dufour, many of the council's members are more strongly federalist than the small-business men who comprise the majority of the chamber's members. Adopting a more moderate approach, the council wants provincial jurisdiction over transportation, telecommunications and energy policy. Says Dufour: "We see for a decentralized Canada that the most important powers must be kept at the federal level. You as a foreign have federated, if you give all the powers to the provinces."

Many of Quebec's senior businessmen appear to hold views that fall somewhere between those of the chamber and the council. The National Bank's Bégin, for one, says that all areas in which the federal government makes transfer payments to the provinces, such as health and education, should be put under the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces. These measures, he adds, would help to centralize Ottawa's debt—which currently amounts to more than \$155 billion for every person in Quebec—and cut the duplication of services caused by overlapping federal and provincial jurisdictions.

In the business community generally agree on the benefits of transferring some powers to the provinces, but few of them are willing to discuss what will happen if Ottawa

Business Notes

THE DEEPENING RECESSION

Canada's economy performed worse in November than in any month since the current recession began in April. It registered a 0.8-per-cent decline in the total production of goods and services. Still, Finance Minister Michael Wilson maintained that the economy will begin to grow again in the second half of the year. Rather, Wilson told his provincial counterparts that reducing the deficit remains the best way to fight the downturn. According to Wilson, that strategy will help lower interest rates, which will benefit both consumers and business.

A WAR OF WORDS

A long-simmering feud at Air Canada became public when *The Globe and Mail* newspaper published a letter by Pierre Jobin, who resigned abruptly without explanation as president in August. Jobin wrote that the Montreal-based airline is "a loss-leader company locked in a process which could destroy the soul and core of Canada's great corporation." Now working as an airline consultant, Jobin said he received his former boss, Air Canada chairman Claude Taylor, of making changes to the airline "on the backs of the customers and the employees."

RAILTELE OF THE BIG SIX

For the first time since August, a bank other than the Bank of Montreal was the first to cut its benchmark prime lending rate. The Royal Bank of Canada reduced its prime to 13.75 per cent from 13.25 per cent. But the Bank of Montreal responded by lowering its rate even further, to 13.5 per cent. The drop interrupted a run of the Bank of Canada's key rate held, which took the switch rate to a new, 10.73 per cent from 10.88 per cent.

SPINNING TOO FAST

Sound Freight Ltd., the Toronto-based company that owns 259 AAA Records and 205 stores across Canada, sought bankruptcy protection after losing \$7 million to the 1990 tax year on sales of \$125 million. President Gary Mitchell said that he expects Sound to find a new majority owner and restructure the company, which employs 1,700 people.

SUPPORT FOR CLEANER CARS

In a rare display of unity, Toyota's Big Three automakers have joined together to form the United States Battery Consortium. The \$44-million venture will develop advanced technology for electric cars that are intended to operate as effectively as, but with much less pollution than, current gas-burning vehicles.

and the rest of the country refuse. Investment dealer Brumet says simply that both sides will have to struggle to find a compromise. "I know enough people across the country to believe that the goodwill exists to reach an agreement," he added. "But, yes, we are gambling the country."

Contingency decisions to speculate about Quebec's future if referendums fail. Describing that prospect as hypothetical, he added: "You have to say, 'What would I do if what I have to do, and the results are not what I want them to be? If it doesn't succeed, then maybe something else can be done.' But it is a hypothesis, because the business community's credibility with the Quebec public will be jeopardized if it first argues that the country's economic structure is so flawed that federalism must be discontinued, but then retreats later to support something closer to the status quo.

In fact, most of the province's businesses appear ready to accept independence if there is no significant change to federalism. Says Michel Lord, publisher of the leading Quebec weekly business newspaper *Les Affaires*: "They have decided that they are more willing to bear the cost of a load of separation, rather than the cost of another 50 years of constitutional upheaval." Collier's Hébert added that Ottawa has managed its finances so poorly that Quebecers wouldn't have little to lose by choosing independence. Declared Hébert: "If the rest of Canada is not prepared to budge and they do not seem to be concerned about the deficit,



Sun Life Building: a defiant symbol

then I guess, what the hell, the thing is going down the tubes anyway. It can't hurt to try something new."

Indeed, some representatives of large national companies based in Quebec say that their companies might actually benefit from Quebec's independence. Pierre Crawford, chairman of Montreal-based Insearq Ltd., which owns such national companies as Shoppers Drug Mart, Canada Trust, and Imperial Tobacco, said: "This is a delicate project, but if Quebec moves to a greater level of independence, my guess is that they'll be forced to keep a more economic base and they would be eager to do anything to expand in [Other business sectors], meaning that Quebec will do everything it can to keep those businesses incorporated."

Chad Belard, the president of the Montreal-based company Desjardins, whose \$49 billion assets are almost all within the province, said that the costs of independence are manageable. He added: "We have looked at the question of the value of a Quebec currency. Of course, we do not want to publish the results. It can be done, but I do not say that it will be easy." While Belard says that he prefers a major restructuring of the federal system, he adds that he strongly doubts that the rest of Canada will accept Quebec's proposed changes. As a result, he says, Quebec is waiting in time trying to get an agreement with the rest of the country.

Other Quebec business leaders say that the economic impact of separation would depend, in part, on how the rest of Canada reacted. Pierre Péladeau, the flamboyant chairman of Quebecor Inc., predicted that although Quebec and Canada might go through an extra period of instability, in the end they would converge to "a happy divorce." Said Péladeau, whose company publishes four daily newspapers in the province and is the nation's largest media company: "North America acknowledges that eventually Quebec's enthusiasm for independence is driven by politics and tensions," said economist Brad Peltz. "We will be hearing much more about economics in the coming months. Remember that Gen. Péladeau always used to say that economics is more important than politics."

By contrast, Brumet, of Leverage Business Advisors, dismissed the possibility of a happy divorce. Brumet, whose company employs 700 people in offices around Quebec, said that if Quebec declared independence, "it would be seen as an act of treason by the rest of the country—and treated accordingly."

Regardless of English Canada's response, many senior business leaders clearly believe that economic arguments will eventually moderate, although they may not map the drive for independence. Declared Brumet: "You don't make revolution with people who have two cars in the driveway and a color television in the living room." Perhaps, but all the signs indicate that it is already well under way.

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Hussein is no Hitler—he is Goldfinger

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

As the Gulf War escalates, the U.S.-led coalition's propagandists are finding it increasingly difficult to summon up adjectives wise enough to describe Saddam Hussein. How do you compare a band of rebels disconnected from decent behavior that he would singlemindedly order history's largest oil spill, now threatening to permanently foul one of the world's ecologically richest seas?

It's easy. The Iraqi dictator is an *Adult Hitler*, who at least as far back as days showed an occasional plume of sanity. No. Saddam Hussein, the first reliable version of a James Bond villain specifically Goldfinger, the power-hungry assassin, is the third and best James Bond movie of the same series, who wanted to rule the world by corrupting the gold market. As asthmatically portrayed by Gert Fröbe, Goldfinger stopped at nothing, including torture, nerve gas, atomic bombs and seducing a buxom blonde by spraying her with gold lacquer.

Blame him Goldfinger, you caught up in what an Israeli commentator has labelled a "trance of insanity," the self-reinforcing desire to rule the world without for a moment considering how crazy such an obsession might be.

However, of course, wants to achieve this dubious distinction by controlling the world's oil, instead of its gold, and that's the difference: the two heroes are in fact different.

George Bush and other Western leaders have stumbled over themselves, dithering that they must do something to protect those Middle East oil interests. Such has recently claimed that the fight is "not about oil," but rather the need to defend democracy against "united aggression." Most oddly, Secretary of State James Baker, when asked why the United States had declared war, succinctly replied: "If you want to sum it up in one word, it's oil." (Does that same pricing policy by price or for stealth against Hussein's Republican Guard should be considered a legitimate, equal-opportunity employment?)

According to many top oil and environmental experts, that would spread a cloud over the globe thick enough to make the sun's rays, raining crops across the world. Even James Bond's special-effects wizards never thought of blowing up oil wells to obliterate the

sun—or filling the sea with crude—and Hussein has already unified both a dozen Kuwaitis and several relatives.

American dependence on the Gulf is multiplied by the continuing inability of the United States to find new oil sources at home. Production of domestic crude fell by five per cent in 1990 and is now running at its lowest level since 1961, at just over 16 million barrels a day. Although it ranks, by some a modicum, as the world's largest consumer of oil, the United States imports at least half its crude. According to imports like James Gray, executive vice-president of Calgary's Crestline Hunter Exploration Ltd., this shortfall will rise to at least 65 per cent by 1995. No wonder Saddam Hussein doesn't want to make the world safe for Exxon.

In trying to lobban Hussein's next moves, Westerners judge his strategy all too often by their own values. That's not a valid comparison, especially when it comes to the work of human life. Privately the closest approximation to how hide life is valued outside Iraq is the 1988 royal letter sent by a spokesman for the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom and the Home Undersecretary to the Court of St. James. The Iraqi had been called off by Saddam's ambassador but had wagged at the Kirk ambassador of Belize with "fifth" measure of mortadella and cypriote prunes. The British diplomat, his exasperated official shock at the incident, but the ambassador was clearly flattered and amused that the action should be questioned, exclaiming: "But they were nice people!"

"Other dictators try to hide their crimes," noted The Spectator of London. "Saddam knows there is a value in countering them openly. His secret service conceal the bodies of his victims in their families so that everyone can see precisely how they were tortured in death."

The great tragedy of the current impasse is that it could have been so easily avoided. For most of a decade, oil-rich Kuwait (which costed an estimated \$12 billion) and Saudi Arabia (which offered to finance virtually all of Iraq's development needs) but Britain, Germany and the United States pursued money and arms over Saddam's shoulder, hoping the weak would defeat Iraq's more resolute neighbors. If the West had demanded respect and treated the Iraq-Iraq war for what it was—a finally quelled between two Middle East states—the entire war would never have been possibly necessary.

Any comparison between Saddam Hussein and Goldfinger is obviously at best, but that doesn't mean the war was essentially inspired less by the malevolence of James Bond (Sean Connery) than by the betrayal of an most trusted lieutenant, Pussy Galore (played by Honor Blackman), who deserted his cause and joined up with Bond. Maybe Hussein saw the movie, because he has recently been drooling with paranoid lunatics in an embargoy by showing them photographs of Nicolas Cage and some of his associates after they were executed by Baathists patriots—reminding his henchmen of this film should be fit to be deleted.

We should tell Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf to go home—and bring back Pussy Galore.

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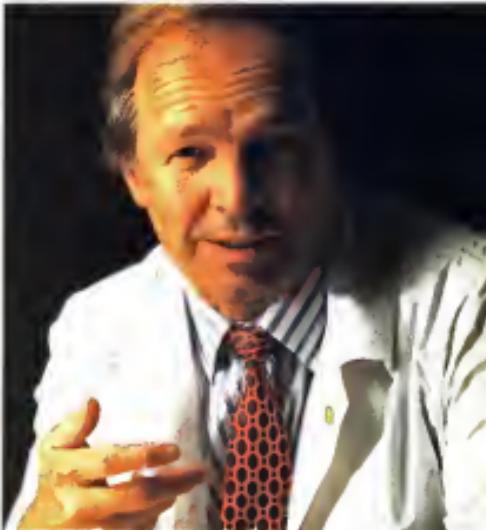
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PEOPLE

Solo-going singer

American singer Sossie Hoffs says that going solo is a relief. As one of the Singers, a popular 1980s all-female pop group, Hoffs explains that the spent much of her time trying to please the three others. Said Hoffs, 34: "With four singers wanting to be heard, it was a difficult dynamic—but even though she has just released her first solo album, *When You're a Spy*, her involvement with the group continues. The act, concerned about offending Arabs, has turned the group's light-hearted title for *Walls Like an Egyptian*. But, says Hoffs, "It was never political."



Hoffs: difficult diplomatic relations

The Scud stud

What a hell, but for Canadians! *Journalist Arthur Kent*, it has had an unusual advantage: his homepage and single-blade correspondence, who began his career at CTV, has become a sex symbol. Women have been sending him fan faxes and *Talesian*. And employees at the *Mac* office in San Francisco made business read "*AMPC*" (Arthur Kent, Put On). At last count, more than 200 had been sold to people across North America. Now, 37, says that he feels a bit sentimental about the attention. He adds: "A lot of correspondents and cameramen are putting their lives on the line."



Kent: receiving fan faxes

THE APPLE OF HER FATHER'S EYE

Victoria Bryne, daughter of actor Ted Bryne, who died in 1988, says that he influenced her to pursue a career in photojournalism. *Added Bryne, 30: "The thought I had talent and gave me my first camera. When I was 14, I shot what was around me, like the view from my room, the dog on the form next door." Now, she is photographing fermenting parades. Her subjects include Elizabeth Taylor and former Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto. Said Bryne: "My father was a great photographer with very specific ideas."*

A man called Bull

Before he was in "so many bad movies in the 1970s," says Irish actor Michael Morris, he avoided the big screen for 10 years. But he has made a triumphant return in *The Field*, made by the Irish troupe that created the 1988 Academy Award-winning movie *My Left Foot*. The Field stages Morris as Bill McCabe, a Laois-like leprechaun who fights to keep the rental herd that he has tended for most of his life. Already, many critics predict that Morris will win a best actor Oscar. The movie, says Morris, uses "the emotions of ordinary people who represent tragic heroes." He added: "The same issues are at stake in Israel, Northern Ireland and Korea. We can all identify with that taken away." Morris, 66, added that he identified so strongly with the status character of McCabe that "I grew a beard before I ever had the role," declared Morris. "To see the Bull was everything, a fearless man who, in classic tragic terms, had a dark secret—and that would destroy him."

Morris: a strong identity with dead taken away



Morris: a strong identity with dead taken away

TRIUMPH AND ADVERSITY

Composer Louis Applebaum says that although the landscape future for the arts in Canada looks "rather bleak," his own seems bright. Next week, at a gala event, Applebaum, 72, will be named Arts Person of the Year by Toronto's Jewish community. Applebaum, who has received many honors for his work, which includes countless movie, stage and TV scores, said that he is honoured. "This is the first time I have been the focus of a whole evening," he added. But the co-author of the 1982 Applebaum-Hibbert federal report on the arts expressed dismay about their current state in Canada and about recent CBC budget cuts. Said Applebaum: "We aimed to make the CBC bigger and better, and smaller and weaker. It's given us exactly the wrong direction."

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A magazine apology

Toronto Life settles in the Reichmann case

During 1986 and 1987, Toronto journalist Elaine Dewar travelled to the United States, Hungary, Austria, Monaco and Israel in search of a magazine story the early history of Toronto's billion-dollar Real estate brothers. In November, 1987, the results of her research were published in a \$10,000-word article that appeared in the monthly magazine, Toronto Life. The article, which among other things discussed the period during which the Reichmanns' parents, Maxie and Samual, lived in Europe and North Africa, named Dewar two National Magazine Awards. It also triggered one of the longest legal actions in Canadian history. In January, 1988, Paul, Albert and Ralph Reichmann, and their Toronto-based company, Olympia & York Developers Ltd., sued Dewar and Toronto Life for \$100 million, claiming that the article defamed their family. Last week, after three years of legal manoeuvring, the two sides announced an out-of-court settlement had been reached. The Reichmanns, whose real estate and other interests are worth an estimated \$8 billion, agreed to drop their lawsuit, while Toronto Life said that it will publish a one-page apology in its March issue and make "a substantial donation to four charities" designated by the Reichmanns.

Details of the settlement were shredded in secrecy. Peter Herrero, publisher of Toronto Life, told Maclean's that "there is no understanding among the parties that the terms of the settlement are confidential." A person with close links to Toronto Life said that the journal's editor, George Tamm, "is registered over a considerable period of time. It will be a generous and complete apology."

The costly and prolonged legal action could have, Toronto Life in a precarious financial position. The magazine had estimated to \$1-million libel lawsuit by June, 1990, and documents submitted by lawyers in a pretrial hearing in 1989 indicated that the Reichmanns had already spent \$30.2 million just to have private investigators to interview Dewar's sources. At the same time, extraordinary conditions have raised Toronto Life's profile, every other North American magazine, to suffer a sharp decline in advertising revenue. The settlement may have wider implications. Some journalists speculated that it could encourage investigation of the affairs of powerful interests.

Martin (left), Reovers mocking the artificiality of the show-business capital

FILMS

L.A. follies

Steve Martin lampoons the city of angels

LA. STORY

Directed by Mark Achbar

Last year, talk-show neophyte Arsenio Hall asked Steve Martin when he felt he had become a star. After offering evasive answers, Martin answers to make the question seem ridiculous. Martin finally said that he had "star" status when he realized he could stand in his ... to make a bad movie without wrecking his career. He could have been talking about the movie that he was presenting at the time, *My Blue Heaven*, a lame farce about a Mafia fugitive in a witness relocation program. His new movie, *LA Story*, which he wrote himself, is much funnier. It allows Martin to display his virtuosity as a comic actor — a puzzle of silly and savvy. But as romantic comedy, the movie amounts to less than the sum of its gags.

The *LA* part of *LA Story* is a treat. The movie offers what must be the most exhaustive compendium of Los Angeles clichés ever assembled. A local cop pulls a gun and says, "Name my name in Bob and I'm your rabbi." A traffic light turns green and red and says, "UNLUCKY." The story part of *LA Story* is less inspired. Harry (Martin) works for a TV station in a wacky neighborhood. He is attached to a woman, downeering girlfriend named Tina (Marilyn Burns). And true love comes in the form of an English journalist named Sara (Western Ter-

nard), who is writing an article on Los Angeles. Their romance is also to develop. Harry is seduced by an academic author who spells her name "Sudie" ★ (Sarah Jessica Parker), while Sara keeps company with her various exboyfriends (Richard E. Grant).

As a California comedy of manners, *LA Story* is stunning. It outshines the Los Angeles skyline with the artful comedy of its master. As for a movie that is all about the city, it serves up more life-off. Oddly, there is no real chemistry between Martin and his real-life wife, Tammie. The film's narrative lingers on a relationship that Harry establishes with an electronic freeway sign. Like the wayidness seen high in the baseball fantasy *Field of Dreams* (1989), the sign sends Harry messages. It is a catch phrase — a catch phrase, it is a catch phrase — at first. But as the comedy reaches a sentimental overdrive, the magic seems forced.

Martin spends most of the movie mocking the artificiality of life in America's show-business capital. Then, he gives a costs court broad smile. "Romance," Harry concludes, "costs exist, deep in the heart of L.A." Martin seems to suffer from the same syndrome that used to afflict Woody Allen — the attempt to serve as a self-effacing mentor and the leading man who gets the girl. It is hard to be both, even in *L.A.*

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A fateful contest

An author revisits the Conquest of Quebec

1759: THE BATTLE FOR CANADA

By Laurent LaPierre
(McGill-Queen's, 2002, pages, \$26.95)

It was a battleground of conflicting opinions. As the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future held its first televised discussion, on Jan. 4 in Saint John, N.B., local residents and citizens at studios across the country debated the future of Confederation. Hosted by former broadcaster Laurent LaPierre, whose newly published book describes a very different battlefield, but one that sowed the

seeds of a power struggle between the two giants. But, despite his clear identification with the French-Canadians, cause the rebels to French-Canadians as "my people," LaPierre adequately refuses to lay the blame for the subsequent disaster in French Canada at the door of the British. In an argument directly directed at Rousseau's Col. Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, who was Montcalm's aide-de-camp, he writes: "He had lost confidence in us here and you betrayed us, left us here in the rubble. The English at least stayed on. We owe you hardly anything."



LaPierre: a soul-stirring approach to a battle that changed Canadian history

seeds for modern-day discontent in Canada. In 1759, The Battle for Canada, LaPierre combines historical fact with fiction to reconstruct British Major-General James Wolfe's capture of Quebec from French forces under Lt.-Gen. Louis-Joseph de Montcalm. "It is the most important moment in our history," writes LaPierre, a former history professor at McGill University in Montreal, who now heads a CBC radio talk show in Vancouver. "It is neither an English nor a French moment; it is a Canadian one, and we are all a part of it."

Descriptive and evocative prose, 1759: The Battle for Canada begins with conventional pronouncements and moves towards unusual—and challenging—conclusions. Following the lead of amateur historians, LaPierre characterizes the siege of Quebec City as part of a larger conflict between Britain and France that has run France, weakened Quebec

George Townshend informs a skeptical LaPierre that Wolfe won "even aristocratic than the situation, more so than the Regis, more pompous than anyone I had ever met. Apparently unimpressed, LaPierre retorts later, "This is not a book," and continues his hunt for other opinions.

LaPierre's unconventional approach to history can be confusing. At times, the author carefully distinguishes between the facts and his fictional fictions, as when he describes a young man named Jean-François-Xavier Lefebvre as being "easily" a "partake of all the teenagers who were involved in one way or another in the battle." But in several instances, the line between history and drama blurs, particularly when LaPierre allows his Québecois pride to get the better of him. In one especially sentimental passage, he writes of the French-Canadians: "We played hard and we played for keeps, we were generally good-looking and charming and pleasant to be with." Is LaPierre's approach to history, then, a ploy for pride—or even a bit of pretense?

LaPierre's conclusion about the wage of Quebec, meanwhile, are similarly unorthodox. Equally dismissive of the English and French armies, he argues that French-Canadians must ultimately acknowledge the contributions of their English conquerors in building the province of Quebec out of the rubble of 1759. An accommodation as his methods, that verdict on history is a provocative addition to the heated debates of a nation grappling with its future.

TICKET DIVER

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

- 1 *The Secret Pilgrim*, by Carol (3)
- 2 *The Mission of Passage*, by (3)
- 3 *Second of My Youth*, Mosaic
- 4 *Never and the Sea of Stories*, Rushdie (2)
- 5 *Langoliers*, Pynchon (6)
- 6 *The Witching Hour*, Rice (5)
- 7 *Bomperie à la Carte*, Michelini (6)
- 8 *Cold Fire*, Krentz (26)
- 9 *Death Rite II*, Penn (7)
- 10 *Possession*, Amit

NOTWITHSTANDING

- 1 *Handbook of Parenting*, Pepe (10)
- 2 *Iron John*, St. (1)
- 3 *Brookside and Our Times*, Clinton and McColl (3)
- 4 *Hannibalism*, Doubtfire (6)
- 5 *The Great Depression*, Astor (5)
- 6 *Feminist*, Tiffey (2)
- 7 *Sexes*, Schlesinger
- 8 *Health and Propriety*, Hyatt and Morris
- 9 *We Are the People*, Hwang (16)
- 10 *1759: The Battle for Canada*, LaPierre

11 *Posture Just Walk*
Compiled by Jason Betsch

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TICKET DIVER

My Maria died.

A TRUE STORY



Maria

I went to see her and to see how PLAN was helping. The dormitory was fine, but just the beginning. Maria's mother had been to the Mother's Nutrition Clinic we run last month. We couldn't find work for Maria's father, but we are teaching him how to raise goats so that Maria and her brothers and sisters can get a glass each of fresh, clean, body-building, life-saving milk every day, and so that her father can earn a little more money with his new skill. And there's the water! Roster Parents Plan's helping them put in most wells, and the fresh water project in their village by the end of the year, and a few other things as well.

So, when I come home tonight,

I could help thinking about

Maria and Marissa. The differences between them aren't all that big. It's just that PLAN has been able to catch one more little girl before she slipped through our fingers and was saved forever. And, of course, we couldn't be over here.

Like you won't ever these

So, if anyone ever tells you that helping through PLAN doesn't matter too much, you can do something for me, just tell them that what you are about to do making all the difference in the world. All the difference between Maria and Marissa. Help us prove that point today — become a Foster Parent. You just might fall in love with your own Marissa.

Chris Tapwirth, Roster Parents Plan

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Too cold for even a 'technical country'

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

A bout a decade ago, the world's most serious newspaper, *The New York Times*—at that stage still interested in Canada—engaged a bright young man named Bill Borden to be its new correspondent in Ottawa. Borden, being a serious, well-educated type as are all its reporters, knew nothing about Canada, not an unusual malady. He therefore went to a world encyclopedia, lay himself down on the basic demographics and statistics and relevant data on this strange clump of rottagamus that was an hour's flight away from Montreal.

To his utter bewilderment, his eye spied one fact aside from Ulan Bator, Mongolia, Ottawa is the winter is the coldest capital city in the world. Borden, no dummy, immediately discarded the doggerel, turned to Quebec and pursued of his impressions: editors that he should be stationed instead in Montreal. The choice of its instruments masked in low by certain acrobats whose identity cannot be revealed because of innocent modesty.

It is a measure of our current angst that the *Times'* interest in Canada is now of such intensity that its current annual Canada man, a superbly erudite by the name of John Burns, spends most of his time covering deportations at Afghanistan and other world hot-spots—the paper having apparently decided along with most Canadians that this is, as one American commentator puts it, "technically a country."

Borden had it right at the first place. A country like by a cusp, this cold is not operable. A capital this cold which is trying to run a country is not functional. This compass-passed switch, showing on his face how as a hand noose as he types, were cut at the window a display of mackintoshes butler bell-laces across the sky. It is quite clear why they are sold, buried in the supply of surplus gear caused by such an Alan MacEachern and Herbie Andre and Sheek Goppa, the principal export of a town based on pell-mell, hyperbole and obfuscation—which could be the name of a law firm, and probably is.

The occasion is the opening of Whistler—a skewed local attempt to cash in on tourist



dollars by advertising how cold it is with ice sculptures and other follies. American tourists, who cannot afford the airline to Ulan Bator—and who basically don't know where it is—pay good bucks to take home postcards from the spot that ranks No. 3 in the encyclopedia of Monopoly, which has yet to invent a fourth house.

Sensible people walk the streets here clothed as headless, that is, resembling the protection worn by peasants at the Golgotha Antiphagego. Otherwise charming Gothic women wear coats the stakes wrapped in sleeves and woolen protectors that round about as many fleeced features as the rived bangles of Bagdad.

People who are thus cold can't think properly. Which brings us to the congenital Ottawa myth that Canada is basically a Great White North, not welcome for brain monkeys, a land where basically all the population is of the same fix.

This, as a matter of fact, doesn't happen to be true. Moreover, your readers must be left aside, since its salacious crimes leave inhabitants still playing tennis at Stanley Park on New Year's Day, not to mention those despicable year-round gamblers, but Vancouver can't be left aside. Nor can Calgary, where chameleons turn winter days into specks in swift three-hour sessions. That's the climate there, where the entire populace wearing parkas and resembling the last civil servants as does Ottawa.

The point is that Ottawa is not just another "typical" Canadian town in winter or another collection of bawdy Canadian survivors. It is not typical of anything Canadian: a freakish outpost where the majority of air translates into English of the mind. Residents of North Bay and the Flon may be as ruggedly English as Ottawa is, most Canadians are not.

The reason Ottawa has been so honoured in the active minds in Quebec is because Ottawa tends to make governmental rounds run into sludge. Jacques Parizeau dances about in his double-breasted bolts like Kurt Browning, leaving the fans trailing in his wake with all the grace and speed of Turk Bradla. Robert Bourassa, who has more moves than Elizabeth Taylor, not to mention Katerina Witt, is moved beyond the computerized figures into a triple Axel that has the 1990 coming up.

The Marconi ping of one, in response, right back with Karine Sulevic's Dead Poets' Society, a Seal that never landed in the terrible revolutionary volcano of Montreal, you see, there is an underground city working beneath the frigidity. In Ottawa, citizens mands must be exposed to nature, raising the children—

known locally as the children. This is a serious consequence of spending too many years in a climate surpassed only by Ulan Bator, not a single citizen of which has been recorded as having won a Nobel Prize. Egmont Whelan, rocket scientist in the previous Liberal government, upon sand your scold for saying what Whelan once said, that the reason why Africans were in the fix they were in was because they didn't want slaves and we know what the bus did to the brain, or culture.

Whelan, to my disappointment, never showed up on court to pursue his theory and nor, I wish in fact, song closer and more seriously recorded singer on behalf of the temporary Prime Minister will issue a libel writ to protect this maniacation that the winter-like conditions of the locale, to truth, do affect the efficiency of the musical divisions.

If I were him, I would sue it as a legal defences.

A king with no clothes is still a king.



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